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Babies Are **Not** Livestock

Mary Eberstadt has used the occasion of the horrific Planned Parenthood videos to talk about animal rights, making the case to pro-abortion and pro-animal-rights NATIONAL REVIEW readers that those two positions are incompatible ("No Video, Please; We're Killing Something," August 24). Given that the number of conservatives who hold both positions is vanishingly small, her larger goal must surely be to convince pro-lifers that they can't oppose abortion without a comparable repugnance toward modern livestock farming. With predictable slurs about "Big Farm" and well-worn banalities about drones bravely venturing over a wasteland of industrial farms (you can learn just as much about "industrial" farming from Google Maps), Eberstadt consigns the thousands of family farmers who raise animals in climate-controlled buildings to the same circle of hell as abortion mills.

I'd love to have her visit the Midwest, show her some animal barns, and explain the trade-offs for the farmer, the environment, and, yes, the animals in modern livestock farming. Confinement offends those who anthropomorphize pigs or chickens, but it actually can have benefits for the animal. Are the trade-offs we farmers have made tilted too far toward efficiency, while ignoring animal welfare? Perhaps, but some knowledge of animal husbandry is necessary before we can have an informed position. And whatever our views, there is one thing on which most of us should agree: There is a difference between a chicken and an unborn baby.

In fact, it would be hard to find a group more pro-life than the farmers who raise our food. How can farmers so clearly refuse to equate abortion with pigs in pens? Are we hardened to the evil that surrounds us? Or do we, rather, use our moral agency to balance the benefits and the costs to the animals of our present production methods? We can disagree in good faith about what we farmers should and shouldn't do, but Eberstadt's equation runs the very real risk of devaluing human life by comparing it to farm animals.



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The Week



Text

■ The latest e-mails confirm our worst suspicions: She really did want to hear from Sidney Blumenthal.

■ Ayoub El-Khazzani, a Moroccan-born terrorist, armed with a knife, a Luger, and an AK-47 with nine magazines, tried to commit mayhem on the Thalys, a high-speed train on its run from Brussels to Paris. But he was stopped by the exertions of five passengers: Mark Moogalian, a Franco-American academic; Chris Norman, a 62-year-old British businessman; and three young Americans—Anthony Sadler, college student; Alek Skarlatos, National Guard specialist; and Airman First Class Spencer Stone. They seized the gunman's rifle and pummeled and bound him. Stone, despite being slashed in a thumb and an eye, administered first aid to Moogalian, who had been shot in the neck. We might better call lone-wolf terrorists freelancers: They act on their own initiative, in response to jihadist calls to action. But there is no doubt what to call the five passengers. They disclaimed the label “hero,” insisting that they had acted in the heat of the moment. Stone, when thanked by Mme. Moogalian for saving her husband's life, said with classic American understatement, “Yeah, you know, no problem!” No, gentlemen: There was a problem, a serious one. The moment came, and you rose to it. That is what heroism is. Congratulations, and thank you.

■ This was the summer of her discontent. Hillary Clinton is enmeshed in an ongoing criminal investigation into her private server and the classified information that was illegally stored on it. Her attempts to laugh it off have been lame (she said, with the light touch of a tax audit, that she had switched to Snapchat, whose “messages disappear all by themselves”) or dismissive (when asked whether she had wiped her server, she said, “Like, with a cloth?”). Socialist Bernie Sanders is gaining on her, while a Quinnipiac poll showed that the first three words that pop into voters' heads when asked about her are “liar,” “dishonest,” and “untrustworthy.” Joe Biden's advisers are polishing and oiling his armor. Some of this is summer madness: Iowa and New Hampshire Democrats are a perfect fit for Sanders—liberal, old, and white; a Biden candidacy might actually help Clinton—he is nearly as old as Sanders, and not (as two previous runs proved) a good presidential candidate. Still, the Democrats have a front-runner who is charmless, wooden, and frozen in habits of paranoia and entitlement. Good luck with that.

■ As an exercise in political prudence, the State Department's latest release of more than 3,000 pages of Hillary Clinton e-mails has much to commend it. They paint a portrait of a technologically inept Clinton exulting in the arrival of her new iPad, but uncertain how to tell whether she had Wi-Fi. They show a fawning inner circle constantly praising Clinton's performance, as when one senior adviser cooed over a *Meet the Press* appearance: “You were definitely on your game. You either threw a perfect



game—or at least a no hitter.” And they shed light on the constant presence of Clinton loyalists like Sidney Blumenthal and David Brock offering sometimes bizarre advice: Brock sent a memo on impeaching Justice Clarence Thomas. These diversions aside, this release destroys what remains of Clinton's defense of her shadow e-mail system. Many of the e-mails contain highly sensitive communications with foreign governments regarding Iran, Afghanistan, and the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Nearly 200 have been classified to date. Given their contents, these e-mails were classified from birth by virtue of an Obama executive order—something an experienced senior official would have known. Clinton's claims of ignorance that she was dealing with classified information suggest willful blindness to her daily duties, a steady faith in the gullibility of the American people, or both.

■ Newly surfaced e-mails from Hillary Clinton's tenure as secretary of state reveal some interesting things about ex-president Bill Clinton—some revolting things, too. The dictatorships in North Korea and the “Republic” of the Congo offered him big speaking fees. The ex-president did not dismiss those invitations, or those fees, out of hand. One of his staffers wrote Hillary's chief of staff, “Would USG have concerns?” The USG is the U.S. government. The answer was yes. Concerning the \$650,000 fee proffered by Congo, the staffer wrote, “WJC [William Jefferson Clinton] wants [to] know what state thinks of it if he took it 100% for the foundation.” WJC's presidency was marked by amorality and immorality. His post-presidency is little different.

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■ Assailing Republican presidential candidates' opposition to ■ Scott Walker, as we noted in our last issue, released a commendable plan to replace Obamacare. But he got more abortion, Clinton said that their "extreme views about women were something we'd expect "from some of the terrorist groups—and here we're going to exercise charity—and, perhaps worse, "out of date." These may be the toughest appearing to take three different positions on birthright citizenship she has said about terrorists on the campaign trail: citizenship for the children of illegal immigrants in one week. far. But what distinguishes terrorist groups and makes a He eventually landed on the explanation that enforcing the matter of public concern is not their failure to be au couter laws against illegal immigration would make unnecessary but rather their indifference to human life, their dehumanization to change the rules on citizenship: a sensible position, embarras- tion of those whom they kill, and their willingness to rationalize killing innocents in the name of ideology. That does not sound like pro-lifers.

■ The seventh Planned Parenthood video should have been called himself the front-runner. Walker has long been considered bombshell. Former StemExpress employee Holly O'Donnell, ered his own top political regist; he is on the way to also who has appeared in several of the videos released by the being considered his own worst enemy Center for Medical Progress, describes how a technician at Planned Parenthood Mar Monte's Alameda Clinic in San Jose, Jorge Ramos, the Univision anchor, is not just a self-Calif., showed her the still-beating heart of an aborted baby, pressed, blow-dried activist. Anyone who has been knocked ("kinda cool," the technician calls it), then ordered O'Donnell the ground for asking Fidel Castro when he would hold an to harvest the brain—a procedure that requires her to "cut down the middle of the baby's face." (Adds O'Donnell, right can't even describe what that feels like.) Assuming the account is accurate, Planned Parenthood violated state and federal laws; in fact, it committed out-and-out murder, since the definition of "human being" in both the state and federal criminal codes applies to *in utero* infant with a heartbeat. It will come as no surprise that major outlets—to name just a few: the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, ABC, NBC, CBS—had carried no news of the video 24 hours later. They have demonstrated no interest in investigating these grave charges, nor has the current administration. The refusal both to do so is a disgrace almost as shameful as the they're ignoring.

■ A proposed law in Ohio would make it illegal for anyone to perform an abortion on a woman who seeks one in response to her unborn child's being diagnosed with Down syndrome. Noting that the lives of as many as 90 percent of people with Down syndrome end in the womb, pro-life activists make the case that



election deserves some respect. But not all the time, and not when life was haranguing Donald Trump over immigration at the beginning of a press conference Trump had given the first question to this amounts to unjust dis- someone else. Trump had Ramos taken out of the room, and then crimination against a class, brought back later. Trump was widely criticized as an American something liberals usually caudillo for the forced exit, but in truth—in this instance—he was find objectionable. The bill is the one standing, if only accidentally, for civility.

likely to land on Republican governor John Kasich's desk ■ Trump dodged an easy question posed to him in a TV interview this fall. Kasich, who is running for president, would wouldn't want to get into it," he said. "Because to me, that's very rather not talk about it. He personal." This from a man who in his *Think Big* writes, declined through a spokesman "Oftentimes when I was sleeping with one of the top women in to say whether he supported the world I would say to myself, thinking about me as a boy from the bill, and recently told Queens, 'Can you believe what I am getting?'" There is a time CNN that we focus too much to keep silence, and a time to speak. Trump's decisions about on abortion and not enough when to follow which half of biblical precept (Eccles. 3:7) on other issues. Should he tell voters more about his character than he has intended.

sign the bill into law, as his pro-life record in Ohio suggests ■ Another day, another slur on the Koch brothers—this one gets he would, the media are from the top. Speaking in Las Vegas, President Obama said that unlikely to oblige his desire their "massive lobbying" is "not the American way. . . . That's to downplay it. rent seeking and trying to protect old ways of doing business

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and standing in the way of the future.” Piling falsehood that a reporter was “in the field” was an allusion to a falsehood, Obama added, “They’re even fighting to protect fields”). He also claimed that the Charleston church killings lions of dollars of taxpayer dollars in corporate welfare eapushed him over the top. Criminals are responsible for their year that’s going to fossil-fuel companies.” In an interviewown actions, and the actions of the mad are often overdeter- with *olitico*’s Mike Allen, Charles Koch calmly respondedmined. Society, however, should strive not to provide them that he and his brother and their company have always been with extra rationales for mayhem.

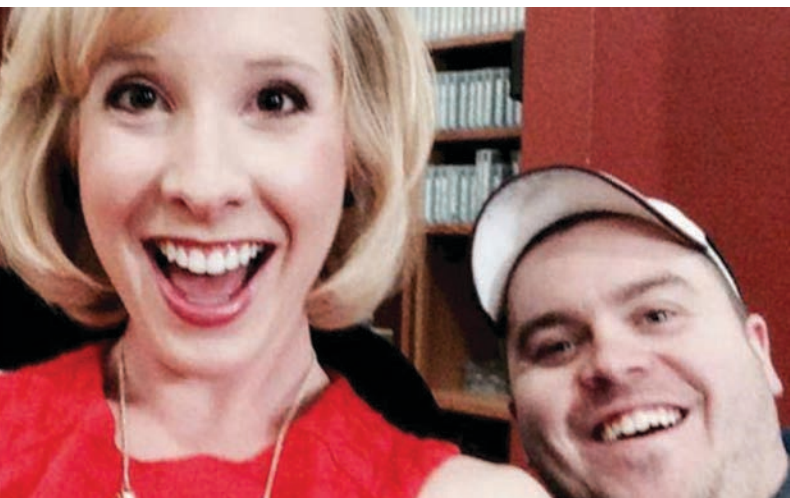
opposed to subsidies—whether the subsidies benefit their company or not. And they are not trying to stand in the way of new clean-energy businesses. In fact, they are investing in them. But does Obama know what “rent seeking” means? That unexpectedly gave way would have held up with no is getting the government to rig the system in your favor, problems if the Army Corps of Engineers had built them Koch explained. “And that’s exactly what these so-called properly in the 1990s. Yet the national media decided to cast renewable-energy proponents are doing”—not his family. President George W. Bush as the bumbling, uncaring, out-of-Koch said of Obama, “I was utterly flabbergasted that he touch heavy regardless of the facts; so, as the military deliv- could say so many things about us that were the opposite of that supplies and rescued people from rooftops while local officials dithered and hundreds of municipal buses at idle,

■ It is vast, even wider than it is tall, looming over a low-lying coastal plain. Athabaskan Indians call it Denali, but Washington (which showed aloofness). Even Donna Brazile, after 1917 it was called Mount McKinley, in honor of a former Bill Clinton adviser, says that Bush was unfairly 25th president. Barack Obama, 44th president, announced maligned. But the main lesson from Katrina is that New Orleans didn’t die, and that its recovery has been helped comes with particular ill grace from him, since McKinley is measurably by a state administration that lusted out the reason he could run for president (McKinley annexed the city’s endemic corruption and brought the crucial element independent Hawaii in 1898). The United States is rightly of choice to its school system. A functioning local govern- loaded with Indian place names. But many, many other people ment will be the best representative against future disasters. have made history here, and been commemorated for it.

McKinley was a brave Civil War soldier and an honest, early politician who fashioned a coalition of old-line Republicans, by trouble in China—come just as the Federal Reserve was workers, and immigrants that dominated American politics getting ready to raise interest rates. Those who favor a hike say for a generation. In 1901 he was assassinated by an anarchist that the Fed has held interest rates low for too long already, ar - His name deserved better than to be yanked like that of a basically stimulating the economy. Those who oppose one say that low interest rates have mainly reflected the weakness of the economy, and inflation is running too low to justify any

■ Vester Lee Flanagan, a former colleague of Alison Park, a former colleague of Adam Ward, two journalists at a Roanoke, Va., TV station that the Fed’s objectives are not exactly transparent. It says shot and killed them in cold blood while filming his deed, wants to keep unemployment low by hitting a “goal” of which he then posted on Facebook and Twitter. Flanagan later percent inflation—but in practice it seems to view 2 percent killed himself in his getaway car. Flanagan was unbalanced: inflation as a ceiling. Either objective is defensible, but right self-hating gay man who had been canned from a string of new TV they would yield opposite policies. The Fed resists setting jobs because of his volatile temper, and who thought Jehovah’s rule for its policy, or having one set for it, but the alternative told him to murder. But he was also a black racist, who specializes in endless and irresolvable dilemmas. ized in false claims of workplace discrimination (e.g., saying

■ The Democrats on the National Labor Relations Board have made an indefensible ruling: that workers who are not employees of a given company can be considered employees of that company under the law when it is convenient for the Democrats’ union-boss allies. Under the so-called joint-employer standard, those employed by contractors or franchisees can be treated as employees of larger, richer firms for the purposes of collective bargaining on the flimsiest of pretexts. What this means is that the people who work at your local McDonald’s, who are employees of the local franchise owners, will be empowered to engage in collective-bargaining negotiations with the McDonald’s Corporation, which does not hire, fire, train, manage, or pay them. The prior standard, which defines an employer as a party that exercises “direct operational and supervisory control” over employees, has been abandoned. With private-sector union membership dwindling to insignificance, organized labor has desperately been seeking new opportunities to collect dues from





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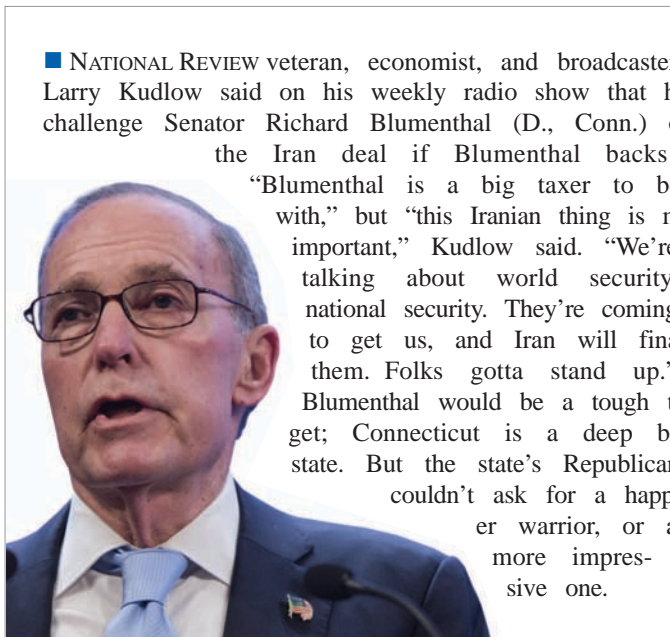
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workers, a large portion of which is laundered into campaign contributions to Democrats, which is, of course, what they would not take actions they find immoral so long as they really all about. Congress can pass legislation to set aside this inconvenience the public: The clerk should not have for ruling and return to the rational standard governing who hidden her colleagues to do their jobs, and should not have an employer. It should do so.

■ Do some U.S. counties have a Three-Halves Compromise that we don't know about? The Public Interest Legal Foundation (PILF), which is devoted to election integrity, recently alerted election officials to the existence of 141 counties with more registered voters than eligible citizens. Some counties had registration rates exceeding 150 percent. If these counties fail to correct this problem, the group will bring a lawsuit against them for violating the National Voter Registration Act. The alleged violation? Improperly maintaining voter rolls. Sometimes turning out the vote is a good thing.



■ NATIONAL REVIEW veteran, economist, and broadcaster Larry Kudlow said on his weekly radio show that he could challenge Senator Richard Blumenthal (D., Conn.) over the Iran deal if Blumenthal backs it. “Blumenthal is a big taxer to begin with,” but “this Iranian thing is more important,” Kudlow said. “We’re talking about world security, national security. They’re coming to get us, and Iran will finance them. Folks gotta stand up.” Blumenthal would be a tough target; Connecticut is a deep blue state. But the state’s Republicans couldn’t ask for a happier warrior, or a more impressive one.



■ Murder is way up in the District of Columbia. The new mayor, Muriel Bowser, intends to do something about it. Recently, she announced that she is putting more cops on the streets of violent neighborhoods. And activists from the “Black Lives Matter” crowd booed and heckled her. She stood her ground. She said, “I will not be shouted down or scared away.” She also said that she aimed “to make ‘Black Lives Matter’ more than just a hashtag.” Judging from the reaction, not every one in that movement has the same goal.

■ The Iran deal keeps getting worse. The Associated Press obtained the text of a “side agreement” between Iran and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) purports to allow Iran to inspect itself at the crucial Parchin nuclear site. Iran will provide “mutually agreed”-upon photos, videos, and environmental samples to IAEA monitors. This new revelation compounds the flaws of the main agreement, which already rejected “anytime, anywhere” inspections in favor of a process that gives Iran written notice of intention to inspect, followed by a weeks-long dispute-resolution process in the event that the two sides object. It is increasingly clear that there is no “deal” in the Iran deal, merely a capitulation to a sworn enemy.

■ The Denver City Council is delaying the opening of a Chick-fil-A restaurant at the city’s international airport—on the grounds that the political views of the chain’s owner, Dan Cathy, are undesirable. Cathy, who is a committed Christian, remains opposed to same-sex marriage, and has in the past donated to organizations committed to that view. A majority on the council disagrees with this position, and has in consequence elected to throw a roadblock before the seven-year deal. Typically, by the way, approval of airport concessions is routine, even for the Obama administration. Not surprisingly, the Obama administration certainly has a political interest in obscuring the ugly reality: The ongoing air campaign has been largely ineffective and ISIS has actually expanded its reach into new regions and continents. We seem to recall the politicization of intelligence being a going concern for the media a few years ago. Time to revive that interest.

■ A county clerk in Kentucky has made national news by refusing to issue marriage licenses, or let anyone else in her office issue them, because she opposes same-sex marriage. Her pleas for the rights of conscience, her critics the obligations of U.S. official puts it. This has an element of déjà vu.

Buy No Hearing Aid Before Checking Out This Doctor's Affordable Discovery

Reported by J. Page

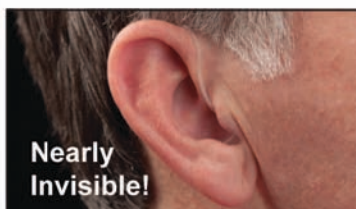
Chicago: Board-certified physician Dr. S. Cherukuri has done it once again with his newest invention of a medical-grade, ALL-DIGITAL, affordable hearing aid.

This new digital hearing aid is packed with all the features of \$3,000 competitors at a mere fraction of the cost. Now, most people with hearing loss are able to enjoy crystal clear, natural sound — in a crowd, on the phone, in the wind—without suffering through “whistling” and annoying background noise.

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This sleek, fully programmed, light-weight, hearing aid is the outgrowth of the digital revolution that is changing our world. While demand for “all things digital” caused most prices to plunge (consider DVD players and computers, which originally sold for thousands of dollars and today can be purchased for less), yet the cost of a digital medical-grade hearing aid remains out of reach.

Dr. Cherukuri knew that many of his patients would benefit but couldn't afford the expense of these new digital hearing aids. Generally they are *not* covered by Medicare and most private health insurance plans.



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his day Saddam Hussein gassed some 5,000 Kurds in nearly every market and industries around the world. China isn't a paper Halabja, and ISIS is every bit as ruthless. German military advisers are training the Kurdish forces, but they neither confirm nor rule out the use of chemical weapons. Intelligence agencies are trying to work out whether mustard gas or chlorine gas is the agent, and where it might have come from. Syrian rebels hold the strategically important town of Marea in Aleppo province, close to the Turkish border, and they accuse ISIS of using chemical weapons. ISIS could have looted Saddam Hussein's old stocks or captured what Bashar Assad promised to surrender, only to cheat. A Dutch member of ISIS, and he confirms that it has used chemical weapons in Iraq and Syria. Proven, no; possible, even probable, yes.

■ There ought to be a special roll of honor for Khaled Asaad. A university professor with a list of scholarly publications in Arabic spanning half a century, he had become the leading authority on Palmyra, the long-abandoned Greco-Roman city on the edge of the Syrian desert, and one of the world's wonders. As the Islamic State fanatics approached, everyone local fled in fear. At the age of 82, Asaad still felt he had the duty of protection. When ISIS duly occupied Palmyra, they had fantasies about treasure and buried gold but found nothing to loot and sell on the black market. Statues and carvings had been removed. In an act of revenge as cowardly as it was brutal, ISIS murdered Asaad, beheaded him, and tied his corpse to improvised wooden props with the inscription "heretic" on the top. The ancient ruins then suffered archaeological martyrdom. Thirty tons of dynamite were apparently used to blow up the temple of Baalshamin, which dated from the pre-Christian era. From the same period, the temple of Bel had preserved its walls and columns. A United Nations agency has released satellite photographs of the devastated empty rectangular space where for 20 centuries this magnificent monument had stood. The scandal of it should last as long.



■ Conveniently forgetting that it's the Parable of the Talents, the evangelists of the "prosperity gospel" preach that God manifests his blessings in the form of material wealth, returning ten- or fifty- or a hundredfold one's initial offering—which usually can be made out to the evangelist himself. The prophetically named Creflo Dollar, for example, recently asked his congregation to finance his new \$60 million private jet, after his previous jet ran off the runway. This is nothing new. As has been the case for decades now, some shepherds are mainly in the business of fleecing. But HBO host John Oliver is not content to let the Almighty right this wrong. On a recent episode of his popular show *Last Week Tonight*, he called on a different deity, the IRS, to more aggressively audit churches, which receive wide latitude under current tax law. Setting aside the fact that few situations are materially improved by the intervention of the Internal Revenue Service, Oliver's remedy would invert the American resolution to the tension between religious and political loyalties, requiring the submission of conscience to the approval of, and subordination to the claims of, the State; the IRS would get to decide which theologies are permissible, and which aren't. That such an arrangement will be used to silence more than jet-setting ministers should be obvious. As to the problem of money-grubbing ministers, perhaps the first solution should be to discourage people from listening to someone named "Creflo Dollar." Then perhaps a similar effort can save us from the tangle of progressivism.

■ After the database of Ashley Madison, a website that promised to place its subscribers in extramarital affairs, was hacked and the information on it published, the most surprising statistic was not that some 15,000 federal employees signed up using their work e-mail addresses (what, are they going to get fired?), but that the overall male-female ratio was not just six to one, as the site's promoters had claimed, but possibly in the hundreds or thousands to one. Experts suggest that the vast majority of the male-female contacts that took place through

■ The reformist Chinese economist Fan Gang says that there are no China experts, only China specialists, an insight worth keeping in mind as the troubles in China's economy roil stock

Ashley Madison were actually with automated “bots” that tip-objectioned. Alice Dreger, a bioethicist who served as guest tended to be live women. (Their conversation was noted very, would not delete the piece. So the administration took lifelike, but it’s amazing what a man can believe when he’s really offline—only to put it back up the day after Dreger wants to.) One analyst of the database says Ashley Madison threatened to go public with what she characterized as an “appears to have been a sophisticated, deliberate, and lucrative reachment on academic freedom. She went public anyway, thinking her cause to that of Laura Kipnis, a Northwestern men on the site.” If so, that’s terrible, but it could be a film professor whom the university subjected to a Title IX worse: Perhaps the only thing sleazier than taking money into investigation after she took *The Chronicle of Higher Education* to criticize “the post-Title IX landscape.” But the two and delivering.

■ A gendercrat at the University of Tennessee recommended—just not necessarily where she wished. Lost amid all that UT’s faculty and students discard such old-fashioned pro-cries of censorship is *Athrium* is not a peer-reviewed nouns as he/him/his or they/them/their and instead adopt gendered journal but a magazine that Northwestern publishes neutral replacements, such as xe/xem/xyr (and there are and apparently hopes will reflect well on its Medical Humanities even more Scrabble-friendly variants). According to the unities and Bioethics Program. Free-speech advocates, this is a university’s Pride Center, the first thing a member of the University of Illinois harm. munity should say upon being introduced is: “Oh, nice to meet you, [insert name]. What pronouns should I use?” We’ll *Athrium* reproducibility is a fundamental tenet of the scientific that it beats “What are you majoring in?” as a conversation. If the results of an experiment cannot be duplicated, it starter. Yet while the South has changed greatly in *Athrium* cannot be said to yield reliable data. Psychologists were accord- decades, it does seem a bit much to freshman from Boilingly shaken when *Science* magazine published a study show- var or Tellico Plains to suddenly integrate “ze” and “zirs” into that 75 percent of experiments in social psychology, and 50 his vocabulary, let alone remember which of his friends present in cognitive psychology, were not reproducible. “hirs” instead of “zirs.” So we suggest a compromise: *Athrium* Similar questions have been raised about many medical exper- conform the new pronouns to local speech patterns by *Athrium* illows (is cholesterol good or bad this week?). To be sure, most ing everyone to say “xem-all” and “xyr-all”?

■ In the 1930s, Yale divided scientific journal is unquestionable except by know-nothings. itself into residential col- The reality is that the more deeply you involve the human body, leges in an effort to *Athrium* and particularly the human brain, in an experiment, the more Oxford and Cambridge. The slippery the results become. colleges, however faux-old,

are handsome structures that ■ Curt Schilling, the forme help break up the monotony baseball star, now works f of institutional life. The pro-ESPN. He is under suspensio fessors who preside over but has not yet been fir their affairs are called mas-ESPN is considering what to ters. Now Stephen Davis, do. What happened is thi Master of Pierson College, Schilling retweeted one o has announced that he will those “Internet memes,” to not use the honorific “maswit, “It’s said only 5-10% ter” because of “the racia Muslims are extremists. In and gendered weight it car-1940, only 7% of German ries.” A glance at Professore Nazis. How’d that go Davis’s curriculum vita There was instant criticism shows that he is an M. Phil Schilling. Imme diately, he d (Yale, 1995), an M.A. (Yale) et ed his tweet. ESPN *Athrium* 1993), an M.Div. (Duke ed him, saying, “Curt’s twe Divinity School), and, yes, was completely unacceptable

B.A., or bachelor of arts (Princeton, 1988). Also, Davis *Athrium* and in no way represents “son of David,” while Stephen is from the Greek for “company’s perspective.” ESPN which, while not gendered, is certainly hierarchical. *Athrium* a “perspective” on Nazis and Islamism, their similarities, and dissimilarities? Who knew? Schilling issued an apology and

■ Issue 12 of *Athrium*, published by Northwestern University’s self-criticism—completing this parable of our times, and not Feinberg School of Medicine, is titled “Bad Girls” and *Athrium* happy one. tures a essay by a male academic who describes the psycho- logically healing effect, as he saw it, of oral sex perfor *Athrium* the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet em him by female nurses while he was in rehab. The adminis *Athrium* proved, definitively, the superiority of free markets over

Communism. But Paul Mason, economics editor for *Channel 4* in Britain, remains unconvinced. Mason's forthcoming book, *Postcapitalism: A Guide to Our Future*, received a positive review from *The New Republic's* Malcolm Harris in an essay non-satirically titled "What if Stalin Had Computers?" Writes Harris, "The book really comes into its own when Mason addresses the possibilities of contemporary planning." Oh, the possibilities! Harris muses, "What if our computing power and behavioral data are developed enough now that central planning could outperform the market it comes to the distribution of goods and services?" He asked question: Where exactly would all that processing power have come from?

■ Topless young women, their upper torsos body-painted, pose for photos with tourists and other pedestrians in Times Square, in exchange for tips. According to some sources, right to keep and bear arms observe caustically that in a count about a dozen *desnudas*, as they are called, grace—on of 350 million guns, those who are determined to kill will grace, depending on your point of view—the vicinity of Broadway and 42nd Street on any given day. Mayor Bill de Blasio denounces them as pushy panhandlers, but begging on New York City streets is legal. So is going topless in New York State, even for women, so the *desnudas* are covered, so to speak. They join several performers, costumed as Mickey Mouse, Spider-Man, and who also roam the area, soliciting handouts from strangers and eliciting complaints from the decorum police. Governor Andrew Cuomo speaks of the *desnudas* as a return to old days when Times Square was synonymous with sleaze. At least a temporary solution is on the way. According to *Farmer's Almanac*, winter in the Northeast will be colder than normal."

PUBLIC POLICY

Irrelevant Gun Control

SINCE he was reelected to the presidency in 2012, Barack Obama has been trying sporadically to sell gun control. His plan has three parts to it: He would like to prohibit all Americans from purchasing modern semi-automatic sporting rifles, which he calls "assault weapons"; he would like to limit the number of magazines that are commercially available; and he would like to force the state to run background checks on any consumer who obtains a firearm from a private seller or a friend. In the wake of a double murder that shook Roanoke in August, the president reiterated his commitment to these proposals. In this he was joined by the governor of Virginia, Terry McAuliffe, and the Democratic party's presumptive 2106 presidential nominee Hillary Clinton.

In and of themselves, Obama's coveted policies are difficult to justify. Despite the prominent role that they play within the gun-control debate, "assault weapons" are used so rarely in crimes that no real sense are kept. Even if they could be practically

eliminated, they might try to do a better job of tailoring their response to the illness at hand. Consistency can be a virtue in public policy. But we should not mistake Pavlovian hysteria for credible



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Is the Supreme Court Really Supreme?

Its decisions are not the final word on the Constitution's meaning

BY RAMESH PONNURU

A PRO-CHOICE voter in New Hampshire had a question for John Kasich, the Republican governor of Ohio, who was making the rounds as a presidential candidate: Would he “respect” *Roe v. Wade* even though he is a pro-lifer? Kasich answered, “Obviously, it’s the law of the land now, and we live with the law of the land.”

Whether he knew it or not, Kasich had wandered into a debate over the courts, one in which some of the other presidential candidates are also participants. Mike Huckabee, the former governor of Arkansas, has denounced “judicial tyranny.” When five justices ruled that the Constitution requires governments to recognize same-sex marriage, he scoffed that the Supreme Court was not “the Supreme Being.”

It’s an often-heated debate. Huckabee’s side says that the courts have established a “judicial supremacy” at odds with the actual constitutional design; the other side says that people like Huckabee are threatening the rule of law. Both sides have some reasonable points, and both could profit from conducting the debate at a lower level of abstraction.

Huckabee’s side of the argument is of course the weaker one in our political

culture. Think of how often people say, without realizing they are making a controversial claim, that abortion is “a constitutional right” or that laws against it are “unconstitutional.” The Supreme Court has ruled to that effect; our shorthand treats its rulings as either correct by definition or authoritative in such a strong sense that we should describe them as though they were. “The Constitution is what the judges say it is,” as Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes said before he was on the Court.

The case against this way of thinking holds that judicial supremacy is incompatible with constitutional supremacy. The courts can get the Constitution wrong; if they could not, there would be no point to justices’ trying to get it right by reasoning about the Constitution. Judicial review, though not explicitly authorized by the Constitution, can be inferred from it: In cases where the courts have to decide whether to apply the Constitution or a statute that conflicts with it, the higher law has to take precedence. The case against judicial supremacy rests on a similar inference: In cases where a judicial interpretation of the Constitution is at odds with the actual document, it is the latter that deserves the allegiance of citi-

zens and officeholders. Kasich is therefore wrong: The Constitution is “the law of the land,” not *Roe*. (You can look it up in the Constitution’s sixth article.)

The strongest argument for judicial supremacy is not that the Constitution commands it. It’s that government cannot work, or work well, if every question of constitutional meaning is up for grabs and that there needs to be a final arbiter.

Abraham Lincoln gave due weight to each side in the course of his first inaugural address. He did not, he said, deny that the Supreme Court’s

decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.

He would defer to the Supreme Court, to a point, but his deference would not be absolute. And so the Lincoln administration did not attempt to undo the Supreme Court’s decision with regard to the parties in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* but also refused to speak or act as though it were correct. It recognized that blacks could be citizens regardless of that decision, and granted passports and patents accordingly. Lincoln’s words are a great asset to the anti-supremacist side not only because of his moral and historical authority but because they are essentially unanswerable, encompassing as they do what is valid on both sides of the question.

Huckabee did not articulate a similarly balanced view, or offer a Lincolnian strategy for responding to the same-sex-marriage decision. Opponents of same-sex marriage have by and large declined to push state-government officials to deny

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Something just happened that explains why tons and tons of survival food are literally flying off warehouse shelves.

The sad part is, that if everyone could see what I see, we'd have half a chance! They think having a food stockpile ready for a natural disaster is something they can put off for "someday" or "never".

As it stands right now, it's going to be every man for himself!

You've seen the evidence and you know the situation is way too serious not to do something about it. When a crisis hits, you'll be ready. I can tell you how to make sure you and your family are safe.... right here.

The fact is, if you don't take action or if you stockpile the wrong foods, you could be setting your family up to be hungry in a time of crisis. It sounds harsh, but the truth is too many people with good intentions are making critical mistakes with their food stockpiles.

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- ▶ Getting gross survival foods that are tough to stomach and so high in salt, MSG and preservatives you could clog your arteries and get yourself sick...
- ▶ Or simply buying the wrong foods and leaving a critical hole in your meal plan, which means your family can become malnourished...

Well, I decided to stop worrying. Obviously, waiting for the government to give me a handout in a disaster just wasn't an option for me. And I was completely turned off by the crazy prices of survival food sold by most stores.



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- There's no fancy packaging, it's military-grade sturdy stuff and can stand up to the crazy things that happen in a crisis. This food has a **shelf life of up to 25 years**, so you have complete peace of mind for the long term. And he's using the most compact kits so you can store them anywhere in your home without any extra hassle. They're sturdy, waterproof and stack easily. And extremely covert too.

- You can make these meals in less than 20 minutes; just add boiling water, simmer, and serve. I tried 'em and I think they **taste as good or better than any other survival food I've EVER had.** And you get a whole slew of choices for breakfast, lunch and dinner so you don't get stuck eating the same thing day-in and day-out.

- Frank has come up with some **impressive FREE bonuses** that are **ONLY** available to folks who purchase one of his kits on a first-come, first-served basis. For example, my kit 3-month came with 5,400+

heirloom survival seeds, 4 hard copy books, a 11-in-1 survival tool, and some other cool stuff.

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Listen, I can't predict the future. I don't know exactly when or how a crisis will hit. But from everything I see, it could be soon and it could be a big one.

P.S. Got a call from Frank and you'll never believe what 4-letter government agency just tried to buy up his entire supply of food!



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marriage licenses to same-sex couples. In *Roe* much at all and does not wish to power to determine the scope and limits of their jurisdiction. Its second section gives Congress the power to make “Ex-ceptions” and “Regulations” to the Supreme Court’s appellate jurisdiction. People who believe that it’s important for the courts to have the last say on the vast majority of questions of constitutional interpretation will resist reading those provisions of the Constitution to permit Congress to deny them that say.

Some conservatives have instead called for a constitutional amendment, either to define marriage in the law as the union of a man and a woman or to let states adopt that policy. Many conservatives have also sought legislation to protect freedom of conscience for people and groups that reject same-sex marriage. Both of these responses are in some sense in opposition to the Supreme Court’s ruling. They do not simply “move on” from marriage now that the Court has spoken, as Kasich and

Kasich isn’t the first pro-life politician to speak confusingly of his respect for *Roe*. John Ashcroft had been a staunchly pro-life senator from Missouri, and in part for that reason he faced strong opposition when the Senate considered his nomination for attorney general in 2001. During the confirmation hearings, he tried to defuse the issue by saying that while he thought *Roe*, “as an original matter, was wrongly decided,” he would “enforce the law as it is, not as I would have it. I accept *Roe* and *asey* as the settled law of the land. If confirmed as attorney general, I will follow the law in this area and in other areas.”

No senator thought to ask him what it would mean for an attorney general to “enforce” or “follow” *Roe*, which pro-

Even when arguments about judicial supremacy appear to have no practical import, they lie beneath judgments about how we should talk about judicial decisions. Even when arguments about judicial supremacy appear to have no practical import, however, they lie beneath judgments about how we should talk about judicial decisions. Kasich’s side of that argument pays rhetorical fealty to the Court: It may make mistakes, but it deserves respect even so. It is dangerous, to people on that side often believe, not to give it that respect. ~~McCabe~~’s side in-

Even when arguments about judicial supremacy appear to have no practical import, they lie beneath judgments about how we should talk about judicial decisions.

many others have suggested. But neither can these responses be said to defy the Supreme Court in any sense that poses even a potential concern about the rule of law.

Our anti-judicial supremacists are not, then, doing anything that judicial supremacists have any good reason to condemn. At the other end of the debate, too, the judicial supremacists refuse to rule out the practical courses of action that are open to anti-supremacists.

What, for example, does it mean for someone like Kasich to “live with *Roe* as “the law of the land,” or to “respect” it? It doesn’t mean that Kasich agrees with it, or accepts its permanence. A spokesman for him clarified that Kasich “hopes that *Roe* is overturned.” And maybe more than “hopes”: The last time Kasich ran for president, according to news reports from the time, he said he would nominate “anti-abortion” justices. Back then, he also said he favored a constitutional amendment to undo *Roe*. The governor’s respect for *Roe* as the law of the land has not precluded him from signing laws in tension with it, including a ban on abortions after 20 weeks. His behavior and his positions, in short, are indistinguishable from those of an elected official who does not respect

vides no instruction to the Justice Department. Did it mean he would send U.S. marshals to deal with any state legislature that tried to prohibit abortion? Ashcroft also said during the hearings that he would not ask the Court to overturn *Roe*, but offered the rationale that it was unlikely to take up any such invitation. He would “follow” *Roe* in this way, in other words, because there was no point in trying not to follow. He neither said nor implied that the administration of George H. W. Bush had been flouting “the law as it is” when it asked the Supreme Court to reverse *Roe*.

There are circumstances in which “obedience” to the Court, or belief in the Court’s supremacy, could make a practical difference. Thirteen years ago a federal appeals court ruled that it was unconstitutional for a public school to make students listen to the words “under God” in the Pledge of Allegiance. The Republican House voted to take away the federal courts’ jurisdiction to hear constitutional challenges to the recitation of the Pledge.

The House was acting pursuant to Article III of the Constitution. Its first section gives Congress the power to create the inferior courts, which implies a

sists that the greater danger would come from not denouncing certain rulings as illegitimate. These are the ones in which the Court gets the Constitution wrong in a deeper sense: It substitutes its own desires for the text, original understanding, and structure of the Constitution. In those cases, the Court is not really engaged in interpreting the Constitution at all.

That’s a tough charge. But it’s one that is also made by several of the dissenting justices in the marriage case. And Justice Anthony Kennedy’s majority opinion didn’t work very hard to make a constitutional argument for its conclusion—as even some strong supporters of the result have noted. The same is true of the Court’s abortion jurisprudence: Even academics who are glad to see abortion treated as a constitutional right cannot generally bring themselves to defend the reasoning of *Roe*.

When the Court makes an illegitimate ruling, those who recognize its illegitimacy may have to live with practical limits on their ability to undo it. If a ruling has earned no more respect than that, however, politicians and others should give not give it any—lest they make the very mistake against which Lincoln warned.

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The Social-Media Murders

A Virginia killer posts his crime online for the world to see

BY CHARLES C. W. COOKE

IN late August of this year, there was a shooting in Virginia. Timing his spree to perfection, a disturbed man interrupted a routine morning broadcast on Roanoke's WDBJ7 television station and shot dead the reporter and her cameraman. News of the killing spread like wild-

Cronkites and Edward R. Murrows. To be noticed, Jack Ruby had to walk into the frame. Today, selfie stick in hand, he could broadcast his execution in real time. Having waited until his Twitter and Facebook accounts were discovered by a horrified, shell-shocked general public, the Roanoke shooter posted the footage online for all to see. Instantly, it was saved, replicated, and tucked away. Instantly, it found its way onto the front pages of *Gawker* and *uzzfeed* and an array of personal "new media" accounts. Had the major news networks come together and agreed not to show it, it would have made little difference. By filming and distributing the attack himself, the killer made sure that his villainy would be recorded for posterity. There are downsides to the democratization of publishing.

News, the killer ran through a litany of grievances. "Why did I do it?" he asked in what is perhaps the most telling passage. "I put down a deposit for a gun on 6/19/15. The Church shooting in Charleston happened on 6/17/15 . . ." The shooter in Charleston had wanted a "race war," he noted, and he intended to grant him his wish. "BRING IT THEN YOU WHITE [illegible]," he added. Later, he would cite as inspirations "Jehovah" and the perpetrators of the massacres at Columbine and at Virginia Tech.

On both sides of the political aisle, the reaction to the news was predictable, narrow, and dull. Nobody seemed to want to discuss the role that making each and every shooter the center of the news plays in breeding the next one, or to reflect on the nature of the Rubicon that had just been

If ever we were accorded an example of the seductive role that notoriety plays in the **motivation of public killers**, this was it.

fire across America: first around social media, then onto cable news, and finally into the reportage and opinion sections of the nation's newspapers. The following day, the headlines read predictably: "horror," "tragedy," "slaying."

The murders were all of these things. But there was something a touch different about this abomination—something horribly, ineffably, inescapably *modern*. The United States has suffered through some gruesome public executions in its past—this, after all, is the nation that saw Lee Harvey Oswald killed live on NBC and that watched in abject disbelief as a series of airplanes slammed into American targets. But before August 26, consumers had never been able to bypass their television sets and access directly the mind of a maniac. What we have seen abroad from ISIS and their despicable kin has now come here, too. America has entered the age of the social-media murder. Reality TV will never be the same again.

Once upon a time, newsmakers of good and ill repute existed largely at the sufferance of the world's Walter

If ever we were accorded an example of the seductive role that notoriety plays in the motivation of public killers, this was it. Having studied other such attacks, the shooter knew full well that the TV coverage would probably be wall to wall; that his footage would be immediately embedded around the Web; that his accounts would be mined for high-quality stills, to be plastered onto the front of the tabloids. To what extent did this feed into his desire? Certainly some. Clearly mentally disturbed, the killer offered a bizarre mixture of private and public justifications. Specifically, he was vexed by what he perceived as the supposed racism and homophobia of his colleagues. One of the victims, Alison Parker, had been the focus of an official complaint after her announced intention to "swing by" a destination was taken as a coded lynching reference, while others at the station had been upbraided for using phrases such as "out in the field" (perceived as a reference to slavery), and for bringing watermelon for the breakroom.

More broadly, though, he wanted to make a splash. In a fax sent to ABC

crossed. Few stopped even for a moment to acknowledge reluctantly that we may now be unable to stop this vicious cycle from taking its ugly course. If anyone meditated for more than a moment on the toxic combination of mental illness and instant celebrity, the ruminations failed to bubble up to the surface. Instead, Americans rekindled their futile fight over the tools that the killer employed, and they fell reflexively back upon their stale talking points.

Pushing the argument for concealed carry to its logical breaking point, a host of conservatives swiftly submitted that, had the slain journalists been armed, they might have been able to fight back against the onslaught. This, frankly, was a peculiar and opportunistic claim. As we now know, the targets were the unsuspecting victims of a carefully planned attack that was sprung upon them while they were working. A few seconds, and it was over. A Navy SEAL would have struggled to defend himself in such circumstances. It is no slight on the right to keep and bear arms to acknowledge that it would not have helped much here.

For their part, progressives quickly got busy confirming once again that their movement is never more intellectually bankrupt than when it is attempting to engage with the question of gun violence. His occasionally incoherent mutterings about “Australia!” notwithstanding, President Obama and his party have for the last few years been advancing three main reforms to the gun-control status quo: 1) They would like to resurrect the federal ban on so-called assault weapons, despite their being used so infrequently in crimes that the FBI declines to keep statistics; 2) they would like to force state background checks on all private sales and transfers; and 3) they would like to restrict the capacity of commercially available magazines, as has been done in “blue” jurisdictions such as California and Connecticut. Since the massacre at Sandy Hook, these proposals have been trotted out at every available opportunity—couched, al-

ways, in saccharine appeals to “common sense” and false promises of “never again.”

So it was in the wake of the murders in Roanoke. Never mind that the shooter bought his gun from a store and passed a federal background check—as public shooters invariably do. Never mind that he put down a deposit and submitted to a waiting period. Never mind that he did not rely upon a “high-capacity magazine” or even reload his gun. Never mind that a 9mm Glock 19 handgun is in no universe an “assault weapon.” The gun-control movement has an established script, and it is intent upon sticking to it. If the tactic hadn’t proven so remarkably ineffective over the last two and a half decades, one would almost have to admire the tenacity.

It has now been 1,000 years since, in the words of Henry of Huntingdon, King Canute stepped into the water to “let all men know how empty and worthless is the power of kings.” This

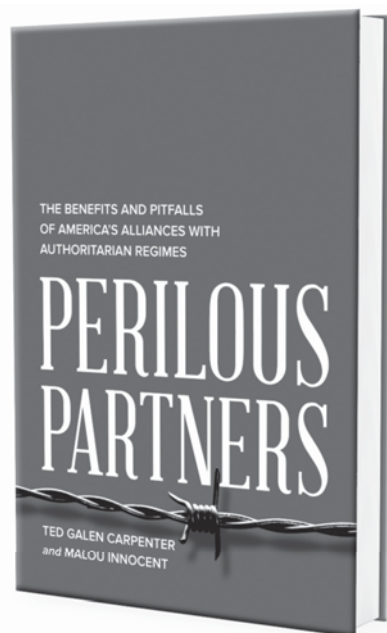
lesson was a necessary one at the time, but today it is even more so.

Because 3-D printing has made their production so easy, we would almost certainly be powerless to prevent the spread of firearms even if we did decide to experiment with prohibition or embrace more-severe regulatory schemes. Because the microchip has turned every telephone into a movie studio and every laptop into a printing press, the capacity to transmit lovely information sits well beyond the control of both the censors of the state and the private gatekeepers whose cultural judgments are integral in shaping the culture. In Roanoke, these two truths came into contact—with horrific consequences. After such a clear illustration of our inability to stop evil in its tracks, one would have expected to witness a serious discussion of what the future may look like, even if that exercise descended into lament. One would have been disappointed.

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New in Foreign Policy

How do we resolve the dilemma of securing important American foreign policy objectives without betraying basic American values and making ethical compromises?



American leaders have cooperated with regimes around the world that are, to varying degrees, repressive or corrupt. Such cooperation is said to serve the national interest. It also often contravenes the nation’s commitments to democratic governance, civil liberties, and free markets. In *Perilous Partners*, authors Ted Galen Carpenter and Malou Innocent offer case studies of U.S. engagement with dubious allies, and show that too often American leaders have sacrificed the moral high ground in pursuit of secondary and peripheral national interests.

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Andrew Jackson, for Better or Worse

Today his reputation is in decline, but 200 years ago he saved the nation

BY RICHARD BROOKHISER

IN his long life (1767–1845), Andrew Jackson fought one duel (in which he took a bullet), one armed brawl (in which he took two), and several pitched battles. But now he is the fight of his afterlife. Several Democratic parties have stopped calling their annual get-togethers Jefferson Jackson Day dinners.

In his own day Jackson was a war hero and a two-term president (1829–37) known by a vivid nickname: Old Hickory (hickory wood is hard and dense, good for wheel spokes and hunting bows). He was canonized for modern times by Arthur Schlesinger Jr., whose *Age of Jackson* (published 1945) argued that he led the movement of urban workers and intellectuals, like the New Deal.

Jackson is in trouble now because of his sins against modern racial sensibilities. “We can’t be anchored to a history that diminished any of our fellow citizens,” said Democratic state representative Stacey Abrams of Georgia, one of the states to kick him and Jefferson off their dinner. Jackson owned black men and killed red men, and that makes him unworthy dead white man.

If we look at Jackson critically fairly, what do we find?

Jackson died owning 150 slaves (Tennessee plantation grew cotton). Slavery existed in much of the world through his life. But so did an anti-slavery movement. States began abolishing slavery Jackson’s youth, and the slave trade ended when he was 41. If he had any second thoughts about slavery, he could have found many who shared them. Instead he belonged to the great mass of slave owners who maintained the institution without criticizing it.

Jackson fought two Indian wars against the Creeks in modern-day Alabama during the War of 1812 and the Seminoles of Florida shortly thereafter. But he is best- (and worst-) known today for his peacetime treatment of the Cherokees, his allies in the Creek War. In the 1820s they had adopted white farming, publishing a newspaper, and owning slaves. But when gold was discovered on their land, the state of Georgia wanted them relocated beyond the Mississippi. President Jackson negotiated the necessary treaties; the forced march (the “Trail of Tears”) happened in 1838. This act of ethnic cleansing went beyond manifest destiny; it was treachery.

Jackson’s response was blunt. In private necessary treaties; the forced march (the “Trail of Tears”) happened in 1838. This act of ethnic cleansing went beyond manifest destiny; it was treachery.

Jackson hated the Bank as a tool of economic oligarchs. Yet his allies in the Bank told Alexander Hamilton’s son James that his father was not in favor of the Bank by its spirit, and “inconsistent with the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit,” and “inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded.”

Jackson spelled Union with a capital I. He asked Congress to pass a bill allowing him to collect the tariff by force. Congress eventually made an offer to reduce the tariff, which South Carolina accepted, and the crisis passed. But Jackson’s firmness had set the parameters, then the downfall of the national institution and the economy for the future. In 1861, after South Carolina troops fired on Fort Sumter, Abraham Lincoln, no fan of Old Hickory, nevertheless rebuked a delegation of compromisers by saying there was “no manhood nor honor in that.”

There remains Jackson’s temperament. He was as self-righteous as he was wicked. He considered the law and his own manhood nor honor in that.” He boarded Jackson’s greatest, and single-handed, achievement came years earlier, on the battlefield. In December 1814, the British tried their last throw of the War of 1812, and that makes him a maniac, who thought Jackson was keeping an army on the Louisiana coast, heading for New Orleans.

Jackson, in charge of defending the entire Gulf coast, was unprepared: He expected the British to attack Mobile, and his troops were scattered. But danger threatened him. He concentrated his forces, made a deal with local pirates, enlisted even black soldiers, and harassed the British as they moved up the Mississippi. By the climactic battle on January 8, the attackers were wary and weary; the Americans were dug in, bristling with artillery. The British lost over 2,000 men, killed, wounded, or captured, the Americans only 70.

The Naked City

Times Square's 'painted ladies' profane what should be sacred

BY REIHAN SALAM



OVER the past few months, Times Square, one of America's busiest pedestrian thoroughfares, a magnet for tourists from around the country and around the world, has changed in a less-than-wholesome direction. Since the end of the Bloomberg administration, the number of NYPD officers patrolling this little patch of asphalt and concrete has fallen considerably. This in turn has led to an increase in what you might call general unpleasantness. The *New York Post* and the *Daily News*, the city's rival tabloids, have chronicled the rise of a new breed of aggressive panhandlers, clad in soiled *Sesame Street* costumes and other outlandish outfits. It's gotten to the point where Bill de Blasio, the city's left-wing mayor, has said that enough is enough. Plans are afoot to sharply increase the police presence in the Cross-roads of the World come October. It turns out that even de Blasio, friend of the Sandinistas, is not so latitudinarian as to let Times Square slide back into pre-Giuliani chaos. With any luck, order will soon be restored.

But there is one brand of Times Square panhandler that's attracting more attention than most, and that might prove more difficult to dislodge than the ersatz Elmos. I refer to the small but very visible collection of female street performers who've been baring their breasts in Times Square, to the delight of some and the dismay of others. These women—"desnudas," in the press, though they reportedly prefer "painted ladies"—take selfies with tourists and encourage them to give tips. Though Mayor de Blasio and Governor Andrew Cuomo have promised to crack down on the painted ladies, on the grounds that they represent a threat to legitimate businesses and an obstruction to pedestrian traffic, it's not clear to me that they will succeed. For better or for worse—I'd say for worse—it's hard to

The historian Henry Adams compared Britain's attack on New Orleans with her attack on Washington, D.C., four months earlier (the capital's defenders were led by General William Winder, with input from President Madison and his cabinet). In both cases an enemy armada landed an invading army at some distance from its object; the period for the Americans to react was about the same. But Winder et al. dithered, with the result that the Capitol and the White House were burned. "The principal difference" in New Orleans, Adams wrote, "was that Jackson commanded."

No victory in the war was more opportune. The combatants had already signed the Treaty of Ghent (essentially a draw), but antiwar passions in the United States still raged. New England Federalists were threatening secession; their leader, Timothy Pickering, wrote that if New Orleans fell, he would "consider the Union as severed." New Orleans was the spigot of the Mississippi River system; frontiersmen needed passage through it to sell their crops. No Old Hickory, no Chocolate City—or at least, not one under the American flag.

Sometimes a country needs a tough guy. I wouldn't name a dinner for Andrew Jackson, but I'd make him a toast. **NR**



make an argument rooted in a sense of nativity to prohibit women from going bodies, for that matter, such objections common decency when our ideas about topless but not men, she maintains that are rooted in reverence for a certain decency are no longer held in common. these women are acting lawfully, and I culturally specific understanding of

While de Blasio and Cuomo have made have no reason to doubt her. To Rampell, sexual intimacy. the case against the painted ladies, the concerns over toplessness are a silly dis- In his 2005 book *Interaction Ritual* even more left-wing speaker of the city traction from the more pressing chal- *Chains*, the University of Pennsylvania council, Melissa Mark-Viverito, has lenges New York City faces. What is so sociologist Randall Collins offers a fas- defended them. Indeed, Mark-Viverito awful about exposed breasts, she asks? cinating theory of why we crave sex and and others on the city council have said Noting that women are more likely to what exactly we get out of it. While that efforts to curb the painted ladies are object to exposed breasts than men, Sigmund Freud maintained that sexual rooted in sexism. Amber Jamieson, a Rampell hypothesizes that these objec- drive is a naturally given quantity, and *New York Post* reporter who went under- tions are rooted in a kind of self-hatred that erotic life is shaped by the ways in cover as a painted lady in an effort to tell Women are taught—it's not innate, as which we repress and otherwise distort their side of the story, argues that "the clearly evidenced by the many unfazed it, Collins makes the contrasting case fight against the painted ladies is deeply young children who ambled by the that the appetite for sexual pleasure- sexist," as no one objects to the similarly desnudas on Sunday—to hate women's seek ing varies from one society to another scantily clad Naked Cowboy, a man who bodies." And so Rampell sees the con- er, and over time. To suggest that contexts bestrides Times Square in little more troversy over female nudity in Times in which sex is mainly limited to com- than his briefs and a guitar. Square as a teachable moment. By being mitted long-term relationships are nec-

Jamieson is not the only writer to defend indifferent to the toplessness in Times essarily more "repressed" than sexual the painted ladies in the name of femi-Square, or ideed by affirming its value, free-for-all, as Freud does, is to ignore nism. Catherine Rampell, a columnist Rampell seems to believe that we could the possibility that sexual drive is in fact for the *Washington Post*, sees objections strike a blow against this purported a malleable force.

to the presence of these self-described hatred of women's bodies. Different cultures understand sexual entertainers in Times Square as simply I have a different view from Jamieson relations in different ways, but there are bizarre. Since the New York Court of and Rampell: Far from being rooted in a number of recurring patterns. Humans Appeals ruled in 1992 that it is discrim- a hatred of women's bodies, or of men's engage in sexual intercourse not just,

and not primarily, out of a desire for sexual pleasure, says Collins. Rather, we desire sex because we crave the intense sense of solidarity that it can create. That's why all the pornography in the world can't replace the excitement created by mutual attraction. While the immediate outcome of sex might be sexual pleasure, the deeper outcome is a strong sense of intimate solidarity—a more clinical term for what most of us call love. Though sex and love are not the same thing, Collins describes sexual intercourse as the ritual of love, which “stands as a marker announcing both to participants, and to nonparticipant outsiders, that this is a very strong personal tie.” There are, of course, societies in which the connection between sex and love is severed, or close to it. You could argue that our own society is one of them. You'll find that these societies are oftentimes miserable, for women but also for men.

So what does any of this have to do with exposed breasts? Collins observes that although breasts are not the primary sources of sexual pleasure, they serve as a symbol of the sexual intimacy that is so central to love. “For that reason,” Collins writes, “they are both taboo to outsiders, and a special emblem of being an insider.”

One could argue that the symbolic importance of breasts is in fact a terrible thing that we ought to work against. Rampell dismisses the totemic significance of exposed breasts by writing, “I mean, they're just breasts” and noting that most adults have them, she is taking something like this view.

I don't find this view distasteful, exactly. Rather, I find it awfully limited. “Puritanical” attitudes toward exposed breasts are not puritanical at all, if by puritanical we mean “anti-sex.” They are the outcroppings of deeply held beliefs that have been badly undermined by a market-driven sexual culture, in which the symbols of intimate solidarity have been commodified and devalued. TWD, so where TWD started after the apocalypse—with the lead character, Rick Grimes, waking up from a coma in a desolate, bloody hospital ward—designed to protect this form of intimacy strike me as valuable and worthy of respect. The reason so many New Yorkers are bothered by nudity in Times Square is that they reject the notion that nothing is sacred.

Why Zombie World Is Conservative

Grab your guns and don't trust the government

BY DAVID FRENCH

THE Obama era is the era of the zombie. It is a strange irony that the politician of “hope and change” has presided over

a pop-culture world dominated by shuffling, moaning, undead cannibals who mindlessly rule a post-government apocalyptic landscape. In theaters, we've seen

zombie blockbusters, zombie comedies, and even sweet zombie romances. But this macabre world, is AMC's *The Walking Dead* franchise.

The Walking Dead (TWD to fans) is so central to love. “For that reason,” rewriting the rules of television. Shows Collins writes, “they are both taboo to aren't supposed to keep getting more popular every year, year after year. TWD does. Basic cable isn't supposed to be

to do together,” then in zombie fiction importance of breasts is in fact a terrible rules the ratings in the key demographic to do together include panicking, lying, thing that we ought to work against. Whenics. And in the era of targeted television and displaying breathtaking incompetence. To be fair, zombie fiction would mean, they're just breasts” and noting at work—was thought to be a thing of the break were promptly squashed by a that most adults have them, she is takingpast, TWD is appointment viewing for squad of bureaucrats from the Centers something like this view.

young and old, Left and Right. Its charfor Disease Control. Yet even relatively government-friendly fiction, such as the bestselling book *World War Z*, features

And TWD is now replicating itself. In August AMC debuted its TWD spin the ship of state finally rights itself. In brief, in zombie world, the man who are the outcroppings of deeply held call it *Fear*). Ratings were spectacular, relies on the government for his safety beliefs that have been badly undermined breaking records for basic cable and will be zombie chow in short order.

So who lives? Well, it's not Pajama Boy. In zombieland, there are three kinds of people: those who know how to use guns, those who learn how to use guns, and zombies. At the beginning of TWD there were a few characters who stubbornly clung to their pre-apocalypse fear and hatred of *zans*. Those people are now dead. Yes, one can learn to use other weapons. TWD's beloved Daryl—the most admired redneck in television history—uses a crossbow as his weapon of choice, while his friend

is happening, but the public is largely oblivious. The first zombies pop up in heroin shooting galleries, and when police are filmed gunning down an undead aggressor—filling it full of holes until the final, fatal “kill shot” to the head—the public assumes it's an act of brutality, not self-defense. No one believes the impossible (as no one would), so characters do incandescently stupid things, like investigating abandoned churches in the middle of the night, armed only with a flashlight.

But they'll wake up to the terrifying reality soon enough—and that's when the genre's inherent conservatism kicks in. In fact, zombie fiction may be the most conservative fiction of all, drawing its dramatic energy from three principles every good Republican should understand: The government is incompetent and prone to collapse under pressure; the person who survives is the person who either knows how to shoot or learns quickly; and even when cities are overrun with undead, a living man is still the most dangerous animal of all.

If government is—to borrow Barney Frank's memorable definition—the “name we give to the things we choose to do together,” then in zombie fiction

the things everyone chooses to do together include panicking, lying, and displaying breathtaking incompetence. To be fair, zombie fiction would mean, they're just breasts” and noting at work—was thought to be a thing of the break were promptly squashed by a that most adults have them, she is takingpast, TWD is appointment viewing for squad of bureaucrats from the Centers something like this view.

young and old, Left and Right. Its charfor Disease Control. Yet even relatively government-friendly fiction, such as the bestselling book *World War Z*, features a series of catastrophic mistakes before the ship of state finally rights itself. In brief, in zombie world, the man who are the outcroppings of deeply held call it *Fear*). Ratings were spectacular, relies on the government for his safety beliefs that have been badly undermined breaking records for basic cable and will be zombie chow in short order.

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ent. One gets the feeling that something

Michonne is adept with the katana, but the gun is still king. (How beloved is Daryl? There are millions of TWD fans who begin every episode with aching concern for his safety. If the show killed him off, cities might burn.)

Oh, and the zombie universe has no use for idealism. Indeed, TWD has made a cottage industry of finding and destroying tiny post-apocalyptic utopias. Season 2 wrecked an idyllic farm, where a family hoped to ride out the crisis. In Season 3, the fortress town of Woodbury—led by a homicidal maniac called The Governor—is the scene of a bloodbath. The list could go on. The utopias fail because living people are far more dangerous than the zombies themselves. They kill through naïveté and wishful thinking, and they kill through sheer bloody-mindedness. The groups that survive are the ones whose members understand that trust is hard-earned and there is no such thing as a “safe space.” In other words, man is fallen, and you either remember that fact or you die.

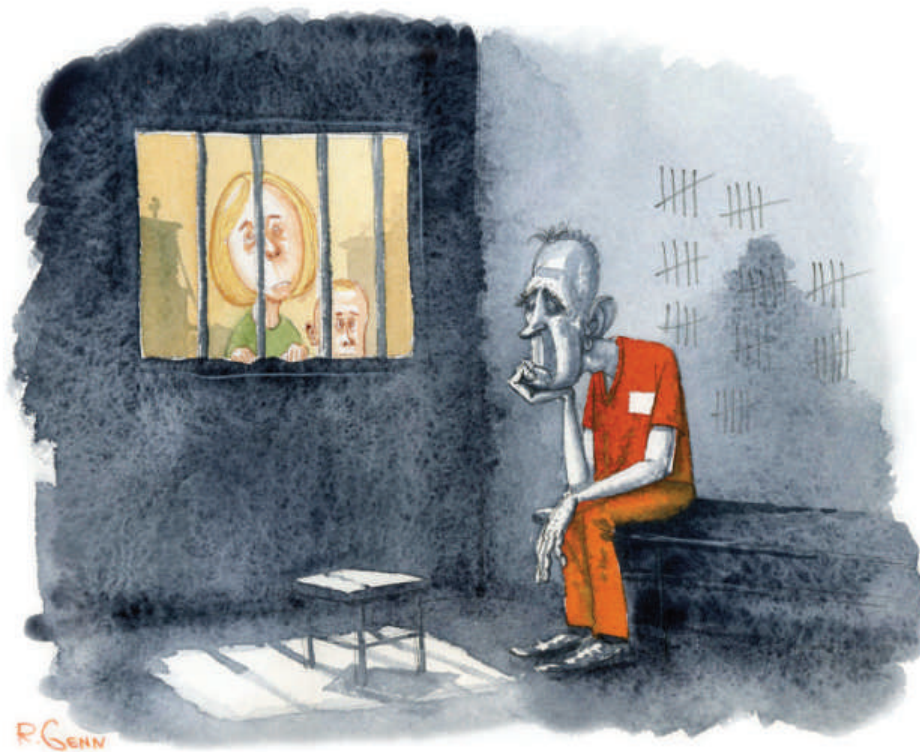
Yet despite these premises, the Left loves this show. *Red* Huffington Post or Salon or virtually any other lefty site that follows pop culture, and they’re dissecting TWD, breaking down and analyzing episodes with loving care.

The Left even tries to import identity-ceived reality of humanity and human tact with the Department of Veterans politics into the show, pitching online nature. Perhaps it’s time for a bit of Affairs. When they watch the utopias fits when black characters are killed off self-reflection from liberal zombie burn, they’re seeing the will to power in disproportionately, demanding to see fans. Why is it so darn believable that their own colleagues, the way that even more gay survivors, and generally carp—the government would go belly-up so like-minded people will so quickly turning until the cast is as diverse as an Ivy quickly? Why do you watch these shows, on all but their closest friends (and League recruiting brochure. But none of sometimes even yelling at the screens sometimes even their closest friends) these complaints touch the fundamen- when characters are too trusting, too when they sense the possibility of per- tal, underlying conservative realities. naïve? Perhaps experience has taught sonal advantage. When they roll their eyes It’s as if painting a battleship in rainbow you some things about human nature at characters who can’t or won’t use colors could fool the Left into thinking that you’re not quite ready to import guns, they’re . . . well, then they’re just it isn’t a machine of war. into your politics. using common sense. Even the editorial

Where are the think pieces demanding There’s nothing new about conflicts board of the *Village Voice* knows you to know why the government failed so between experience and politics. Charles don’t walk through a zombie herd with- miserably? Where’s the 8,000-word essay Murray, in his book *Coming Apart*, mar- out an assault rifle and—yes—a high- describing how Cambridge, Mass., would veled at the extent to which prosperous capacity magazine. ride out the storm with techoratic effi- “blue” families live lives marked by It is said that the facts of life are con- ciency while Mis sis sip pi crackers would traditional morality—intact, faithful, servative. And so are the facts of fic- aimlessly wander around the Delta, mother-father families—all the while tion—especially zombie fiction. So, if munching on each other? Why are theraplauding sexual-revolution mores and you can handle the gore, watch the no real challenges to the lack of trust or thics. In other words, they live values *Walking Dead* unreservedly. You’ll find that its diverse ast is governed by an idealism is the path to the grave? When liberals watch the government unseen code: Live by conservatism, die by liberalism, and the only way you

Yes, TWD, *Fear*, and the rest of the collapse, they’re watching with their by liberal-ism, and the only way you zombie universe is fiction, but even last trip to the DMV in mind, or their frugive up your Smith & Wesson is if zombie fiction isn’t plausible or enjoy- trating encounters with public schools, someone pries it from your rotting, able unless it’s grounded in me per- or—heaven forbid—any form of con- zombified hand. NR





Prisoners without Prisons

Incarceration is important, but sometimes alternatives work better

BY STEPHANOS BIBAS

AMERICA has the highest incarceration rate in the world, outstripping even Russia, Cuba, Rwanda, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. Though America is home to only about one-twentieth of the world's population, we house almost a quarter of the world's prisoners. Since the mid 1970s, American prison populations have boomed, multiplying sevenfold while the population has increased by only 50 percent. Why?

Liberals blame racism and the "War on Drugs," in particular, for drug crimes. Criminologists coined the term "mass incarceration" or "mass imprisonment" a few decades ago, as if police speech to the NAACP, President Obama insisted that "the real reason our prison population is so high" is that "over the last few decades, we've also locked up more and more nonviolent drug offenders than ever before, for longer than ever before." The War on Drugs, he suggested, is just a continuation of America's "long history of inequity in the criminal-justice system," which has disproportionately harmed minorities.

Two days later, Obama became the first sitting president to visit a prison. Speaking immediately after his visit, the president blamed mandatory drug sentencing as a "primary driver of this mass-incarceration phenomenon." To underscore that

Mr. Bibas, a University of Pennsylvania professor of law and criminology and a former federal prosecutor, is the author of *The Machinery of Criminal Justice* (Oxford).

the secular bible for a new social movement in early twentieth-century America." She condemns "mass incarceration . . . as a stunningly comprehensive and well-disguised system of racialized social control that functions in a manner strikingly similar to Jim Crow." Ex-felons, like victims of Jim Crow, are a stigmatized underclass, excluded from voting, juries, jobs, housing, education, and public benefits. This phenomenon "is not—as many argue—just a symptom of poverty or poor choices, but

rather evidence of a new racial caste system at work,” like Jim Crow and slavery before it. She even implies that this system is just the latest manifestation of whites’ ongoing racist conspiracy to subjugate blacks, pointing to the CIA’s support of Nicaraguan contras who supplied cocaine to black neighborhoods in the U.S.

Like President Obama, Alexander blames mass incarceration on the racially tinged War on Drugs. “In less than thirty years, the U.S. penal population exploded from around 300,000 to more than 2 million, with drug convictions accounting for the majority of the increase.” And the War on Drugs was supposedly driven by coded racial appeals, mandatory minimum sentences. At the federal level, liberal which elite whites galvanized poor whites to vote Republican by scapegoating black drug addicts. The fault, she insists, does not lie with criminals or violence. “Violent crime is responsible for the prison boom. . . . The uncomfortable reality is that convictions for drug offenses—not violent crime—account for the single most important cause of the prison boom in the United States,” and minorities are disproportionately convicted of drug crimes.

Alexander’s critique is catnip to liberals. *The New Jim Crow* stayed on the *New York Times* best-seller list for more than a year and remains Amazon’s best-selling book in criminology. And it dovetailed with liberal and libertarian pundits’ calls to legalize or decriminalize drugs, or at least marijuana, as a cure for burgeoning prisons.

PRESIDENT OBAMA’S and Alexander’s well-known narrative, however, doesn’t fit the facts. Prison growth has been driven mainly by violent and property crimes, not drugs. A Fordham law professor John Pfaff has shown that more than half of the extra prisoners added in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s were imprisoned for violent crimes; two thirds were in for violent or property crimes. Only about a fifth of prison inmates are incarcerated for drug offenses, and only a sliver of those are in for marijuana. Moreover, many of these incarcerated drug offenders have prior convictions for violent crimes. The median state prisoner serves roughly two years before being released; three quarters are released within roughly six years.

For the last several decades, arrest rates as a percentage of crimes—including drug arrests—have been basically flat, and sentence lengths. What has driven prison populations up, as Pfaff proves convincingly, is that arrests are far more likely to result in felony charges: Twenty years ago, only three eighths of arrests resulted in felony charges, but today more than half do. Over the past few decades, prosecutors have grown tougher and more consistent.

Nor is law enforcement simply a tool of white supremacy to oppress blacks. As several prominent black scholars have emphasized, law-abiding blacks often want more and better law enforcement, not less. Harvard law professor Randall Kennedy emphasized that “blacks have suffered more from being left unprotected or underprotected by law enforcement authorities than from being mistreated as suspects or defendants,” though the latter claims often get more attention. Crime is intra-racial, so black victims suffer disproportionately at the hands of black criminals. Yale law professors Tracey Meares and James Frawley Jr. have observed that minority

neighborhood residents often want tough enforcement of drug laws to ensure their safety and protect their property values. The black community is far from monolithic; many fear becoming crime victims and identify more with them than they do with victims of police mistreatment.

Black Democrats, responding to their constituents’ understandable fears, have played leading roles in toughening the nation’s drug laws. In New York, black activists in Harlem, the NAACP Citizens’ Mobilization Against Crime, and New York’s leading black newspaper, *The Amsterdam News*, advocated what became the Rockefeller drug laws, with their stiff mandatory minimum sentences. At the federal level, liberal black Democrats representing black New York City neighborhoods supported tough crack-cocaine penalties. Representative Charles Rangel, from Harlem, chaired the House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control when Congress enacted crack-cocaine sentences that were much higher than those for other cocaine. Though many have come to regret it, the War on Drugs was bipartisan and cross-racial.

More fundamentally *The New Jim Crow* wrongly absolves criminals of responsibility for their “poor choices.” Alexander opens her book by analogizing the disenfranchisement of Jarvis Cotton, a felon on parole, to that of his great-great-grandfather (for being a slave), his great-grandfather (beaten to death by the Ku Klux Klan for trying to vote), his grandfather (intimidated by the Klan into not voting), and his father (by poll taxes and literacy tests).

But Cotton’s ancestors were disenfranchised through violence and coercion solely because of their race. Cotton is being judged not by the color of his skin, but by the content of his choices. He chose to commit a felony, and Alexander omits that his felony was not a nonviolent drug crime, but murdering 17-year-old Robert Irby during an armed robbery. All adults of sound mind know the difference between right and wrong. Poverty and racism are no excuses for choosing to break the law; and people, regardless of their poverty or race, resist the temptation to commit crimes. Cotton was a helpless victim just like his ancestors, and it demeans the free will of poor black men to suggest otherwise.

So the stock liberal charges against “mass incarceration” simply don’t hold water. There is no racist conspiracy locking everyone up and throwing away the key. Most prisoners are guilty of violent or property crimes that no orderly society can excuse. Even those convicted of drug crimes have often been implicated in violence, as well as promoting addiction that destroys neighborhoods and lives.

BUT just because liberals are wrong does not mean the status quo is right. Conservatives cannot reflexively jump from critiquing the Left’s preferred narrative to defending our astronomical incarceration rate and permanent second-class status for ex-cons. The criminal-justice system and prisons are big-government institutions. They are often manipulated by special interests such as prison guards’ unions, and they consume huge shares of most states’ budgets. And their avarice tempts police to arrest and jail too many people in order to collect fines, fees, tickets, and the like. As the Department of Justice found in its report following the Michael Brown shooting in Missouri, “Ferguson’s law enforcement

practices are shaped by the City's focus on revenue rather than by public safety needs." That approach poisons the legitimacy of law enforcement, particularly in the eyes of poor and minority communities.

Conservatives also need to care more about ways to hold wrongdoers accountable while minimizing the damage punishment does to families and communities. Punishment is coercion by the state, and it disrupts not only defendants' lives but also their families and neighborhoods. Contrary to the liberal critique, we need to punish and condemn crimes unequivocally, without excusing criminals or treating them as victims. But we should be careful to do so in ways that reinforce rather than undercut conservative values, such as strengthening families and communities.

Historically, colonial America punished crimes swiftly but temporarily. Only a few convicts were hanged, exiled, or mutilated. Most paid a fine, were shamed in the town square, sat in the stocks or pillory, or were whipped; all of these punishments were brief. Having condemned the crime, the colonists then forgave the criminal, who had paid his debt to society and the victim.

Even though wrongdoers may deserve to have the book thrown at them, it is not always wise to exact the full measure of justice.

That was in keeping with the colonists' Christian faith in forgiveness, and it meant there was no permanent underclass of ex-cons. Preachers stressed that any of us could have committed such crimes, and we all needed to steel ourselves against the same temptations; the message was "There but for the grace of God go I." The point of criminal punishment was to condemn the wrong, humble the wrongdoer, induce him to make amends and learn his lesson, and then welcome him back as a brother in Christ. The punishment fell on the criminal, not on his family or friends, and he went right back to work.

Two centuries ago, the shift from shaming and corporal punishments to imprisonment made punishment an enduring status. Reformers had hoped that isolation and Bible reading in prison would induce repentance and law-abiding work habits, but it didn't turn out that way. Now we warehouse large numbers of criminals, in idleness and at great expense. By exiling them, often far away, prison severs them from their responsibilities to their families and communities, not to mention separating them from opportunities for gainful work. This approach is hugely disruptive, especially when it passes a tipping point in some communities and exacerbates the number of fatherless families. And much of the burden falls on innocent women and children, who lose a husband, boyfriend, or father as well as a breadwinner.

Even though wrongdoers may deserve to have the book thrown at them, it is not always wise to exact the full measure of justice. There is evidence that prison turns people into career criminals. On the one hand, it cuts prisoners off from families, friends, and neighbors, who give them reasons to follow the law. Responsibilities as husbands and fathers are key factors that tame young men's wildness and encourage them to settle down: One longitudinal study found that marriage may reduce

reoffending by 35 percent. But prison makes it difficult to maintain families and friendships; visiting in person is difficult and time-consuming, prisons are often far away, and telephone calls are horrifically expensive.

On the other hand, prison does much to draw inmates away from lawful work. In the month before their arrest, roughly three quarters of inmates were employed, earning the bulk of their income lawfully. Many were not only taking care of their children but helping to pay for rent, groceries, utilities, and health care. But prison destroys their earning potential. Prisoners lose their jobs on the outside. Felony convictions also disqualify ex-cons from certain jobs, housing, student loans, and voting. Michigan economics professor Michael Mueller-Smith finds that spending a year or more in prison reduces the odds of post-prison employment by 24 percent and increases the odds of living on food stamps by 5 percent.

Conversely, prisons are breeding grounds for crime. Instead of working to support their own families and their victims, most prisoners are forced to remain idle. Instead of having to learn vocational skills, they have too much free time to hone

criminal skills and connections. And instead of removing wrongdoers from criminogenic environments, prison clusters together neophytes and experienced recidivists, breeding gangs, criminal networks, and more crime. Thus, Mueller-Smith finds, long sentences on average breed much more crime after release than they prevent during the sentence. Any benefit from locking criminals up temporarily is more than offset by the crime increase caused when prison turns small-timers into career criminals. So conservatives' emphasis on retribution and responsibility, even when morally warranted, can quickly become counterproductive.

ANOTHER justification for prison is that the threat of punishment deters crime. The problem with deterrence, however, is that we overestimate prospective criminals' foresight and self-discipline. At its root, crime is generally a failure of self-discipline. Conservative criminologists such as the late James Q. Wilson and Richard Herrnstein pin primary blame for crime on criminals' impulsively satisfying their immediate desires. They are short-sighted gamblers; who else would risk getting shot or arrested in order to steal \$300 and a six-pack of beer from a convenience store?

Impulsiveness, short-sightedness, and risk-taking are even more pronounced among the very many wrongdoers whose crimes are fueled by some combination of drugs, alcohol, and mental illness. But those very qualities make it hard to deter them. We naïvely expect to deter these same short-sighted gamblers by threatening a chance of getting caught, convicted, and sent to prison for years far off in the future. Of course, optimistic, intoxicated risk-takers think they will not be caught. And if they have cycled through the juvenile-justice system

and received meaningless probation for early convictions, inmates have minor children, more than 1.7 million in all; the system has taught them exactly the wrong lessons. most of these inmates were living with minor children right before their arrest or incarceration.

To deter crime effectively, punishment must speak to the same short-sighted wrongdoers who commit crime—not their families often. They should be incarcerated as close to home as possible, not deliberately sent to the other end of the state. Visitation rules and hours need to be eased, and extorted while knitting wrongdoers back into the social fabric. If inmate collect-call telephone rates should come down to actual cost.

even drug addicts respond to them. Hawaii's Opportunity We should also pay more attention to the victims of crime. Probation with Enforcement (HOPE) is an intensive-probation program that has the hardest-core drug users face random drug tests who must go back to living among them. Though victim analysis one day each week; violators immediately go off to see justice done—including appropriate punishment—weekend in jail. Though the Left paints drug addiction that does not generally mean the maximum possible sentence. disease requiring costly medical intervention, drug addicts In surveys, victims care much more about receiving restitution than can in fact choose to stop using drugs. Under HOPE and apologies. So prison-based programs should encourage habitual drug users usually go clean on their own when wrongdoers to meet with their victims if the victims are will with the immediate threat of two days in jail. Well over 80 listen to their stories, apologize, seek their forgiveness. Having to apologize and make amends makes most out any further treatment. wrongdoers uncomfortable, teaching them lessons that they

The contrast with ordinary probation is stark. Probation offenders juggle hundreds of cases, rarely see their clients, and Another important component of punishment should be work. they ignore multiple violations until they unpredictably send a madness that prisoners spend years in state-sponsored client back to prison at some point in the future. Probation is punctuated by sporadic brutality. It is time to repeal teaches probationers exactly the wrong lesson: that they Depression-era protectionist laws that ban prison-made goods likely to get away with violations. It is no wonder that HOPE interstate commerce and require payment of prevailing-wage rates to prisoners (making prison industries unprofitable).

Applying the same insight to prisons could revolutionize able-bodied prisoners should have to complete their education. UCLA professor Mark Kleiman notes that inmates cations and work, learning good work habits as well as marketable skills. One could even experiment with sending webcams, drug and alcohol testing, and electronic monitoring to able-bodied prisoners without serious violent tendencies to enbrace bracelets via GPS. They could live in government-related in the military, as used to be routine (think of the many apartments, see their families, and work at public-service jobs). Some of prisoners' wages could go to support jobs, all at much less expense than prison. These surveillance families, cover some costs of incarceration, and make methods could enforce rules such as strict curfews, location to their victims.

limits, and bans on drug and alcohol use with penalties. Finally, inmates need religion and the religious community for noncompliance. But the Left hates the idea, in part because that come with it. Most prisoners are eventually released, its critics blame crime on society rather than on wrongdoers who do almost nothing to help them reenter society, simply who need to be held accountable, disciplined, and taught providing a bus ticket and perhaps \$20. But faith-based structure and self-control. programs like Prison Fellowship Ministries can transform

States like Texas and Georgia have already been experimenting with alternatives to endlessly building more prisons of prayer, repentance, education, and work. After inmates are released, these faith-based groups can also perform patient drug treatment as well as drug courts, diverted much of the oversight, community reintegration, fellowship, minor offenders out of prison, kept juveniles out of state and so on. prayer that returning inmates need. Inmates must accept and set up cheaper diversion beds for inmates who do not believe in their responsibility, vow to mend their ways, and have to be in regular prison. For instance, Texas has begun believing to hold them to those promises. Having a job, a special substance-abuse cells, so that repeat drunk drivers get treatment instead of being housed with murderers from prison offers ex-cons a law-abiding alternative to rapists. Risk-assessment tools can help to identify the slover returning to lives of crime.

recidivists and predators who pose the greatest danger. American criminal justice has drifted away from its moral roots. The Left has forgotten how to blame and punish, and to

Most of all, the government needs to work on reweaving the Right has forgotten how to forgive. Over-imprisonment frayed but still extant fabric of criminals' families and communities, not because wrongdoers are blameless victims. Both excessive crime and excessive punishment reflect a white-supremacist conspiracy. It is wrong because state communal bonds, further atomizing society. The more that education excessively disrupts work, families, and communities, punishment exacerbates the breakdown of families and the building blocks of society, with too little benefit to show for it. The more the overweening state and its social services and strategies for deterring crime not only fail to work but law enforcement grow to fill the resulting void. short-sighted, impulsive criminals, but harden them into

The cornerstone of a conservative criminal-justice agenda is that criminals deserve punishment, but it is wise as well should be strengthening families. More than half of Americans are humane to temper justice with mercy. **NR**

Houston: Sanctuary City

On illegal immigrants, a fissure runs through Texas

BY KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON

WE used to think that the future was Akihabara, *Blade Runner* and all that cool stuff from William Gibson's novels, but it turned out to be Houston, the science-fiction landscape of line through terror—a pregnant woman was beaten with a wooden paddle, others were sexually assaulted—threatening their hostages with Tasers and when necessary resorting to the old-fashioned practice of sticking a shotgun in their faces. The illegals were stripped down to their underwear, their clothes and shoes kept in a locked room. The windows were boarded up, and the doors to the house were padlocked from the outside. There was one intermittently functional toilet and no hot water, leaving conditions inside the stash house exactly as you'd expect.

THIS DIDN'T happen in some isolated waypoint in the Chihuahuan Desert, but right in the middle of the nation's fourth-largest city, a few minutes away from a Starbucks. Similar stash houses have been found all over Texas: 72 half-starved illegals were held hostage in a filthy house near McAllen; state troopers stopped a box trailer in the middle of the after-dinner nap in Pharr and found 18 illegals inside and evidence that they'd packed them into a house in which 31 more illegals were found; 76 illegals were packed into a house in Edinburg. Houston is not very close to the border—it's closer to New Orleans than it is to Brownsville—but it has become a popular transit point for immigrant smugglers, with stash houses often being found in areas near the Sam Houston Parkway, which loops around the city. An hour's drive from the Alameda School Road house—because of course you can drive for an hour and still be in Houston, the city proper being nearly 700 square miles and the metro area being nearly the size of Lebanon—a similar stash house was found with 43 Hondurans and Salvadorans locked inside, one of whom was an unaccompanied five-year-old boy desperately clutching a piece of paper on which his mother's cell-phone number was written, his only lifeline. That house was smack in the middle of an ordinary residential area, a neighborhood with two-car garages and basketball hoops in the driveways—utterly, chillingly normal.

Despite popular rhetoric to the contrary, it is not true that illegal aliens are criminals by definition. Being illegally present in the United States is in most cases not a crime but a civil offense, and the increasing share of illegals who enter the country legally on visas but overstay means that many—perhaps even most—illegals present in the United States are not

And the thickly muscled young men sitting behind a tall spike fence in front of a house just off the Sam Houston Park way, keeping hard, keen eyes on the traffic? Not very tall at all.

But they don't really need to be.

HOUSTON police, their numbers supplemented by a detachment of federal agents, sheriff's deputies, and constables, raided the house on Alameda School Road just after 10 A.M. They picked up a couple of armed Mi choa - cána gangsters leaving the property in a red Ford Mustang and arrested three more who fled on foot as they were coming through the doors. Inside the 1,284-square-foot house they found 115 illegal immigrants, mostly men but women and children, too, who were being held hostage by the "coyotes" who had smuggled them into the United States.

The coyotes were Mexican, but the illegals were mostly Central American, Salvadorans and Hondurans. They were kept in a room with no windows, and the doors were padlocked from the outside. There was one intermittently functional toilet and no hot water, leaving conditions inside the stash house exactly as you'd expect.

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liable for any criminal charges. But it is a crime to illegally enter the country, a misdemeanor for a first offense and a felony for those who have been previously deported. In the Houston stash-house case, everybody was a criminal: The Michoacán coyotes were professional criminals, their ages were criminals, and the woman who tipped police was a criminal, too: Esperanza Cuevas had

\$15,000 to smuggle her daughter and two grandchildren. Others had similar stories: Dilicia Jimenez-Alvarado had \$7,500 to be smuggled from El Salvador to New York City and the coyotes demanded an additional \$5,000 once they had her under lock and key; Mario Guzman-Figueroa agreed to pay \$3,400 to be smuggled from Honduras to Atlanta and owed \$2,000 when he arrived in Houston, where he was that he had twelve days to find the money or he'd be a trash bag on the highway.

Everybody knows how the racket works, that untrustworthy and will take you for everything you then some, that they will rape the women and those under their control to smuggle drugs, with those resist being tortured to death. By the time Miguel Ángel Treviño Morales was finally arrested United States had put a \$5 million bounty on *lumin criminalis* included ordering the kidnapping and murder at least 265 U.S.-bound migrants. It is a sign of the of Latin American nations beset by crime, ward governance that their people willingly pay them vast sums of money to be transported to the States, where their prospects will be very narrowly assuming they get here alive.

As in the Houston case, police often are tipped stash houses by family members of smuggled who are being held for ransom therein. This can tricky situation, because those family members are frequently illegals themselves, and in many cases they coyotes' criminal co-conspirators, having paid these drug cartels, to bring relatives into the United States Illegals are not generally eager to interact with police of any kind, and those ransom-taking coyotes a very difficult position: They can either cooperate that their loved ones will get through the ordeal in or they can go to the police, which puts them on official radars and normally ends with the deportation of family members in whose relocation thousands of dollars been invested. The 115 hostages from the Alameda Road stash house were eligible to apply for "U" visas, which are temporary non-immigrant visas for crime victims, offered to those who are assisting police with investigations. But investigations end, and the illegals have to either voluntarily, face deportation, or run.


That situation is what many so-called sanctuary-city intended to address, creating law-enforcement protocols which crime victims can go to the authorities without fearing detention on immigration charges. Sanctuary cities have been very much in the news this summer, liable for any criminal charges. But it is a crime to illegally enter the country, a misdemeanor for a first offense and a felony for those who have been previously deported. In the Houston stash-house case, everybody was a criminal: The Michoacán coyotes were professional criminals, their ages were criminals, and the woman who tipped police was a criminal, too: Esperanza Cuevas had \$15,000 to smuggle her daughter and two grandchildren. Others had similar stories: Dilicia Jimenez-Alvarado had \$7,500 to be smuggled from El Salvador to New York City and the coyotes demanded an additional \$5,000 once they had her under lock and key; Mario Guzman-Figueroa agreed to pay \$3,400 to be smuggled from Honduras to Atlanta and owed \$2,000 when he arrived in Houston, where he was that he had twelve days to find the money or he'd be a trash bag on the highway.

complain that theirs is the largest city in the country without all of the illegals are simple economic refugees. The sanctuary-cities law. Lubbock County, which is one-third Hispanic, are very bad people who do very bad things, and it is not a pan ionic, routinely goes 70 percent Republican in presidential elections, and most of the county is a college town with a liberalism of Texas's big cities. more liberal than the surrounding communities.

The Lubbock area is represented in the state legislature by Senator Craig Estes of Wichita Falls, who complains that the bill would lead to a Gestapo mentality among law-enforcement officials. "Let me say this: The phrase 'Show your papers' is more like Nazi Germany than it is about immigration," Estes told *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*. Of course, state courts to issue writs of mandamus obliging municipalities to cooperate with immigration authorities. Strangely enough, the same people who say that Houston does not have a Hispanic problem, cities policy object strongly to the proposal to punish sanctuary cities. Adrian Garcia, the former Harris County sheriff who is now a Democratic candidate for mayor of Houston, dismissed Perry's bill as "a solution that is a band-aid on a bullet wound" and suggested it would lead to racial profiling and other abuses.

Perry, a soft-spoken CPA from Abilene who in 2010 was elected a Republican fixture first elected to the legislature in 1994, which is, of course, the basic rationale offered for sanctuary cities. But it also forbids any municipality from adopting a rule that prohibits police, corrections officers, prosecutors, booking clerks, and other law-enforcement officials from inquiring into the immigration status of persons who come lawfully detained (if they are not doing that," he says. Perry generally speaks sympathetically to those immigration authorities. Which is to say, it only forbids who who come here fleeing the chaos of points south, but everybody says they're not doing.

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Of course, it also empowers ordinary citizens to file a complaint with the attorney general if they believe that their local authorities are violating the law.

"It's very strange that they're all so opposed," Perry says drily.

HOUSTON is a world away from Perry's district on the South Plains. Half of the businesses in the city are minority-owned, whatever "minority" means in a city that is only one-fourth white. Outside of Texas, it is thought of as a one-horse town riding the oil business's boom-and-bust roller coaster, and energy is indeed the big-foot business in town. But with that great gusher of oil comes chemicals, plastics, industrial products, and manufacturing of all sorts, from electronics to industrial machinery to medical devices. The eastern Harris County manufacturers' association figures that its members produce some \$12 billion in goods every year.

And the area surrounding that Houston stash house gives some indication of why so many illegals not only pass through Houston but stay: Draw a one-mile circle around it, and you enclose two chemical companies, a medical-device maker, a couple of crane-and-rigging companies, an outpost of the Italian manufacturing concern Grupo Galperti, and a number of those weird and obscure industrial concerns that make the world go 'round: thermal spraying, fluid sealing products, portable HVAC systems. These businesses are hiring illegal immigrants; they're in the market for engineers, machinists, and skilled workers, offering the kind of pay that make Houston the very attractive proposition it is for blue-collar and middle-class workers who care a great deal about the ratio of incomes to housing prices. (A California who took a \$10,000-a-year pay cut on moving to Houston says: "I've never felt so rich.") That puts upward pressure on wages for low-end service jobs like dishwashing and housecleaning, and some businesses and individuals averse to moving their own grass look the other way when it comes to the legal status of certain workers. The same people who pronounce themselves shocked by the coyote racket and the stash houses.

"Most of them don't want to be here," Perry says of the illegals. "They'd rather be home. But their communities have been taken away from them by the cartels. We have to give them their communities back, and give them their communities back." Anything else, he says, whether it's walls or his modest legislative offerings, is small change. He'd like to see the United States dispatch covert operators to give the backside of the national hand, something like the campaign against FARC in Colombia.

That isn't going to happen. So they'll keep coming, with the coyote extortion and the raping and shaking down and the leave-you-dead-in-a-Hefty-Steel-Sak-off-Interstate-10 brutality, as long as they're desperate enough to come. And there will be filthy houses packed with desperate men and women and children with nothing but a scrawled cell-phone number connecting them to a hostile and alien world, locked in, guarded by hard-faced young men with guns. This they will endure, and more. It doesn't much matter what the law says: Legal or illegal, this is their sanctuary.

Stalin's Daughter, Her Own Woman

The life and meaning of a remarkable, arguably great lady

BY JAY NORDLINGER

SVETLANA STALIN merits a little space in this magazine. First, she was an important and fascinating figure of the 20th century. But second, she declared her REVIEW her favorite publication—and gave to us what was the least of her offenses, from a Stalinist point of view. I got to know Svetlana a bit, not in the flesh, but in preparing a new book, *Children of Monsters: An Inquiry into the Sons and Daughters of Dictators*. She is the most famous of all such sons and daughters, unless you count the sons who succeeded their fathers in "office." I speak primarily of Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier in Haiti; Kim Jong-il in North Korea; Bashar Assad in Syria; and, back in North Korea, Kim Jong-un. Svetlana is famous for two reasons above all. The first is that she defected from the Soviet Union to the United States, causing a world-wide sensation. But the second is even more important: She was a memoirist, and a superb one. She got it all down, in three books, two of which should endure indefinitely, and the third of which is worthwhile.

In my book, I argue that Svetlana was great, or at least touched by greatness. I will tell you why here, but first I will give you a sense of her life, in barest outline. Remember, she took three volumes to relate that life—and others have written their own books about her.

She was born in 1926, when her father was firmly entrenched in the Kremlin. She had an older brother, Vasily, and an even half-brother, Yakov. (Their lives rate their own books or chapters, believe me.) Josef Stalin adored his daughter, and she loved him back. He felt more tenderly toward her than he did toward any other human being. This was true during her childhood, at least. Things changed, as will be made clear. Svetlana's mother was Stalin's second wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva ("Nadya"). She was not the maternal type. She was the Bolshevik devoted to Party and work, not to "bourgeois" interests such as family. Later in life, Svetlana could not remember that her mother had ever hugged, praised, or kissed her. Nadya thought her husband coddled their daughter. Imagine, if you can, a household in which Stalin is the more loving parent.

Nadya killed herself in 1932, at age 31. Svetlana was six. She was told that her mother had died of a burst appendix. She would not find out the truth until ten years later.

After Nadya's death, Stalin and his daughter continued to have a tender, playful relationship. You can imagine how Svetlana felt

In 1963, she met an older man named Brajesh Singh, an Indian there you have the life, in barest outline. Why do I Communist—who was losing his faith in Communism. They fell her great, or touched with greatness? First, there are the in love and wanted to get married. For this, they needed the state's moirs—the first two of them. She partially renounced permission, so Svetlana went to see Kosygin, in her father's mold in different moods. But they are brave, beautiful, and true office. He denied her. Svetlana and Brajesh lived together, she wends *Twenty Letters* with a tribute to her nanny, who was ever, in an unofficial marriage. He died in 1966. She wanted to be useful to her than “anyone on earth.” “If it hadn’t been for fill his wish have his ashes spread on the Ganges—so she went steady warmth given off by this large and kindly per to see Kosygin again. Remarkably, he let her go to India, might long ago have gone out of my mind.” Svetlana’s books a month. Off she went, urn in hand. It was a shock to become of the stories and observations. But she is more than a story Soviet Union, and a pleasant one. On a fateful Monday, Svetlana or observer. She is a Sovietologist, to use a once-common walked into the U.S. embassy and requested asylum. An American She is enlightening—sometimes profound—on Stalin, the on duty said to her, “So you say your father was Stalin?” Soviet Union, and totalitarian society in general. She had great She was flown to Rome that night. From there, she went material, you might say. Yes, but no one would have wished to Switzerland. She was enchanted by this country, as most life for himself just to have the material. Svetlana occasionally ple are, and she would gladly have stayed there. But she said what she wished her mother had married a carpenter. government required that she not involve herself in politics in about her father, she could be “conflicted” (to indulge modern way—and that was unacceptable to her. “To remain silent psychological parlance). She once stayed at the home of David another forty years could have been achieved just as well Price Jones, the British writer who is now a senior editor of the U.S.S.R.,” she writes. She wanted to explain, to the “only” magazine, and his wife, Clarissa. In his forthcoming memoir, I was cutting myself off forever from the Communist world. P. P. On ones tells us something important about their guest: April 21, 1967, she landed at Kennedy Airport in New York said point blank that she refused to talk about her father. Upon bounding down the steps from her plane, she said, she would come down from her room and talk exclusively about I’m happy to be here!” him, tormented that she couldn’t help loving a father who she

She had not come empty-handed. She carried a manuscript, "was a monster." Elsewhere, at another time, she said, "My *Twenty Letters to a Friend*, which she had composed in the summer would have shot me for what I have done." That is unquestionable. She wrote the book at great speed: in just 35 days.

It is all about her life, an outpouring of memories and thoughts. I believe that Svetlana did her best, under the circumstances. It became a bestseller. In 1969, she had another bestseller, *Only One Year*—about everything that had happened in her life. Could anyone have done better? Could anyone have turned out more “normal,” less crazy, more productive? She made mistakes—her children

The early 1970s saw a very strange episode, in a life of which I certainly agree—but she had a conscience. And that constrange episodes. The widow of Frank Lloyd Wright, the great architect, invited Svetlana to stay with her. She herself had had a daughter Svetlana, killed in a car crash. She felt a mystical connection to this new and famous Svetlana. Her own Svetlanas had been married to Wesley Peters, the architect's senior apprentice. Mrs. Wright wanted the new Svetlana to meet Peters and like him. She did. They were married in three weeks. Now her daughter was "Lana Peters." She and Wes had a baby, Olga. The marriage broke up shortly after.

Svetlana was restless, moving from place to place, and religion to religion. She became disenchanted with America, with life there. Her persecuted: They remained worshipful of him (if they survive). Her fame was dimming, and she resented the daily chores of motherhood. She wrote a third memoir, *Faraway Music*, a slipshod affair, expressing the new bitterness (and also telling some amazing stories). Svetlana actually thought of going back to the Soviet Union. Which she did, in 1984. She quickly regretted that. But his lone daughter, though. She got out as soon as she could, which was 18 months after her arrival. Landing at O'Hare Airport in Chicago, she said, "I had to leave for a while to realize, 'Oh, my God, how wonderful it is'" — the "it" being America.

She was still restless, moving from place to place, in ~~Europe~~ to think of [Stalin] as a coarse physical monster. Actually and America. She knew poverty. For a while, she lived ~~in East~~ a moral and spiritual monster. This is far more terrifying land, Ore where her daughter Olga was managing a vineyard. ~~But it's the truth."~~ She could have stayed quiet in Switzerland clothing shop. Svetlana spent her last few years in a ~~enjoying~~ a lovely bucolic life. But she went to a place where home in Richland Center, Wis. She liked to sew and ~~could~~ express herself and tell urgent truths. She was sometimes books. Pictures show her a rather beautiful old lady, ~~who~~ ~~daughter~~ of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the great Russian dissident, weathered a lot. She who was born a Kremlin princess ~~and~~ sometimes petulantly critical. But, to a large degree, she followed 1926—the princess of the whole, vast USSR—died in ~~low~~ ~~her~~ his maxim of "Live not by lies." That is what is great about Wisconsin nursing home in 2011, age 85.

Svetlana Alluyeva, née Stalin. NR

Svetlana Alluyeva, née Stalin.

Czolgosz's Revenge

As you've heard, President Obama has gazed A note about Czolgosz: He shot the president on the summit upon a mountain high, lifted his chin, and September, motivated by income inequality and the struggle renamed it. Out: McKinley. In: Denali. If you're not knicker-twisted about this, let me help.

Denali, according to Wikipedia, means "the high one" or "the great one." So, Big Mountain. When the Russian Emma Goldman, *Slate* writer sent back in time to generate the joint, they gave it the poetic name of Bolshevik Gora, or Skull of the Czar. Just kidding; it means "Big Mountain." For a while it was called Densmore's Mountain, a nod to Frank Densmore, the first European to reach its base. He was a prospector; history does not record whether he was "grizzled" and said "by cracky" while splitting and grinning, as is required of the prospector's cliché. Probably just as well the name didn't stick; as his heirs would no doubt learn, the property taxes on that thing would be astronomical.

Denali is not the only name given the peak by indigenous people. Seven languages have seven names, including Dinadhit, Dghelaay Ce'e, and Dengadhiy. She concluded: "And my heart goes out to him in deep sympathy, and to all the victims of a system of inequality, and which would mean a nearby hydroelectric facility could have been the Ho'T Diggiedy Dam. It would seem 'Denali' is intended as a stand-in for all these names, since it was used by the most nearby tribe, the Koyukon, who speak Athabaskan. Here's something about their religious beliefs:

At the end of Distant Time, there was a great catastrophe. The entire earth was covered by a flood. Under the Raven's supervision a pair of each species went aboard a raft. These plants and animals survived, but when the flood ended, they could no longer behave like people. All the Distant Time humans had been killed, and so Raven recreated people in their present form. The Koyukon believe that nature is God, which is why they must respect it.

This is very spiritual and harmonious and beautiful and deserving of our respect, unless you're talking about Noah and that sky-fairy the Christians believe in. Then you can point and laugh.

Anyway: poor McKinley. My elementary school was named for the fallen president, back when schools were given such names to inculcate civic pride and identity. Nowadays you'd have better luck trying to name a school after the inventor of high-fructose corn syrup. *What, a president? From a previous and hence irrelevant century? Kids won't relate.* In latter grades we learned that he was shot by an anarchist named Leon Czolgosz, whose name that makes you feel like you have a fishbone in your throat just by looking at it. McKinley's grimace made for a rather dour spirit around the place, but at least the other schools in Fargo weren't called Garfield, Lincoln, and Hamilton.

Mr. Lileks blogs at www.lileks.com.



Text

Never before in the history of governments has the sound of a pistol shot so startled, terrorized, and horrified the self-satisfied, indifferent, contented, and indolent public, as has the one fired by Leon Czolgosz when he struck down William McKinley, president of the money kings and trust magnates of this country. Not that this modern Caesar was the first to die at the hands of a Brutus. Oh, no! Since man has trampled upon the rights of his fellow men, rebellious spirits have been afloat in the atmosphere.

And THAT'S WHY OBAMA CHANGED THE NAME!!!! He wants to forget that a leftist shot a conservative president! Well, Goldman and other anarchists would have disapproved of Obama. They hated the state, and Obama loves the state with an attraction that borders on the erotic.

As do his acolytes. They would applaud a decision to rename Teddy Roosevelt Park "Big Place of Trees and Then Many Stones," or to rename Washington State "Land of Raining That Stops Never," if that was the original name. For some, the appeal of the deMcKinleyfication derives from the repudiation of old-dead-white-male-leader-dudes. One Twitter comment from a sharp and thoughtful movie critic said Obama has reached the stage of his presidency where he's just trolling rednecks. Which of course is a great good thing in itself, but it also lumps anyone who sighs at McKinley's demotion together with snake-handling mullet-wearers. It's times like this you wish McKinley had been gay, just so he'd have some advocates.

The demotion is not the first, nor the last. There is no titanic involved, only sad compassion. The remnant evidence of America's brilliant and contentious past must be quietly euthanized, like an old, sick dog. There's but one history to know, one story to take to heart: a tale of wretched, oligarchical oppression that ran unchecked until about 1968, when people at Berkeley received the first Gospel from Abbie Hoffman. Or something like that. America is not an achievement; America is an imposition, a grotesque con-man that smothers and steals.

Plus, it's just cool that this guy can wave a hand and RENAME MOUNTAINS. It's like he's God!

Sorry, that's stupid. There is no God. It's like he's the Raven.

NR



The Long View

BY ROB LONG



Text

TRANSCRIPT:
“THE REANIMATED,
UNFROZEN
LARRY KING LIVE SHOW,
JANUARY 16, 2019”

LARRY KING: “Tomorrow night! The whole hour with Dr. Kalabrazian, the genius who unfroze my dead body and brought it to life four years ago! From Hammond, Indiana, hello!”

CALLER: “Hi, Larry! So glad you’re back on MSNBCNN!”

LARRY KING: “Glad to be here, caller. And glad that the team at MSNBCNN saw the value in having me back. Different place, of course. With the merger and the combination and the changes. But still. Do you have a question for President Trump?”

CALLER: “I do, Larry. First, I’d like to say, thank you, Mr. President, for making America great again. The people really do know what you’ve done for this country even if the media elites don’t.”

LARRY KING: “Does that bother you? They’re never going to put you on the dollar bill, right? Gotta hurt.”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: “Of course it doesn’t, Larry. Let me tell you, if I worried what people said about me I’d never have run for president in the first place, or had my own brand of chocolates. I’m a people person, Larry, not an elite kind of guy, and may I say that the work the doctor did on you, getting you back unfrozen and onto the top-rated nighttime talk show in history, it’s superb work. He’s a terrific guy.”

LARRY KING: “Thanks.”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: “But listen. It’s crazy. When I took office we were, what? We were a pathetic sewer of a country. Literally a last-place loser of a country. It was embarrassing, Larry.

Embarrassing and sad. You don’t remember most of it because you were dead and frozen, but trust me. It was a mess. You had people streaming over the border and Chinese guys buying up the country and trade problems and cops and all sorts of really low-class stuff happening. And now, what? We’re back on top and things are terrific and Americans are feeling super pumped about the country and what do you want me to say?”

CALLER: “Could I—I just have one more question—”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: “And I don’t want to be on the dollar bill, Larry. I just want to have ten billion of them, which I do, and I can prove it, too.”

CALLER: “I just—my question is more about Vice President Bush. Will you be supporting him in the election?”

LARRY KING: “Succession? You’ve announced that you’re not running for a second term—”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: “No, no. I said I hadn’t made up my mind yet. Look, it’s been tough. Living in D.C., which is not a world-class town, don’t let anybody lie to you. The house is stuffy and very shabby, frankly, Larry. I’m used to better. And the lifestyle is hard on the family. Melania has put on a few, which was not part of the deal.”

LARRY KING: “Fat. The First Lady is fat. Not seeing it myself. The spread she did in *Vanity Fair* in the bikini around the White House Christmas Jacuzzi, gotta say: A lot of the old Larry King got unfrozen pretty fast.”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: “Well, that’s nice of you to say, Larry, but I’m her husband and I see it and feel it and, you know, hey, I want to drive the car I bought, you know? So it’s time to step away from politics and go back to do some deals and maybe have a show of my own and take the next step.”

LARRY KING: “Vice President Bush? Friendly? Lunches? He’s running, and you say, what?”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: “He’s a very nice guy and a very smart guy and he’s

been a terrific and top-notch part of the team and helped connect the dots on a lot of the policy stuff we’ve been doing but I have to stay out of it, Larry, for human reasons. You know, my daughter Ivanka is a savvy businesslady and a killer dealmaker and would make a tremendous president and maybe she’d like to take over this part of the business, who knows?”

LARRY KING: “Ivanka Trump! Sexy pepperpot! Wouldn’t mind tearing off a piece of that!”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: “Thank you, Larry. That’s nice of you to say.”

LARRY KING: “She’s got a stripper booty and a rack like, wow.”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: “I know. Unbelievable, right? She’d make a fabulous president.”

LARRY KING: “Tiffany not so much. From Marysville, Missouri, hello!”

CALLER: “Hi, Larry! Hi, Mr. President! Just want to say that I’m loving the jumpsuit you suggested that we all wear. So comfortable!”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: “I know, right? And it helps identify people who are not on the team.”

CALLER: “Right! Exactly! But what I want to know is, what Bible verse in particular has been most meaningful to you during your presidency?”

LARRY KING: “The Bible! The Good Book! Lots of stuff in there, some of it weird! As a former dead person I can say, not a lot of harps and angels and whatnot. Favorite scene? Favorite moment in the show?”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: “Good question. Hard to answer, since it’s so personal to me. But the part I really relate to, on a personal and business level, is the end part, that last section? With the horses and the trumpets and high-class production values.”

CALLER: “Revelations?”

PRESIDENT TRUMP: “Yeah. That one. Fabulous stuff. Pure class.”

LARRY KING: “Next week! The unfrozen and reanimated cast of *The Golden Girls*!”

Books, Arts & Manners

Resistance Then and Now

JOHN O'SULLIVAN



My Battle against Hitler: Faith, Truth, and Defiance in the Shadow of the Third Reich, by Dietrich von Hildebrand (Image, 352 pp., \$28)

GERMAN opposition to Hitler, though it never enjoyed mass support, drew on three main sources: the Communists and Social Democrats, the army, and the churches. Each of them had occasional successes; none seriously threatened the Third Reich. The Left, though bravely persecuted by the Gestapo and World War I, was largely hostile to Hitler, discussing politics freely in private, protecting their own anti-Nazi dissidents, and hatching several plots to remove or assassinate him. But their caution in the war enabled them to resist the regime on specific issues—notably, the euthanasia of disabled and mentally ill people—but they failed to mount any kind of general resistance to Hitlerism. Indeed, they were shamefully divided among themselves, both within and between denominations, in their all attitude to Nazism. Some churchmen bravely defied it; some supported it enthusiastically; some equivocated. He would not let an anti-Semitic remark—however silly, thoughtless, or trivial—pass without subjecting it to a merciless refutation. He was particularly enraged by such notions as “Jewish mathematics” and “proletarian art,” which he dismissed simply as “rubbish.” Above all, he was tireless in challenging those Catholic intellectuals, priests, and organizations that attempted to reconcile Nazism with Christian teaching. All this might make him sound a little intimidating, but his friends and students thought he was a very happy man and genial (if serious) company. Hildebrand was forced to flee Germany when the Nazis staged a coup in semi-independent Bavaria. He found a refuge in Vienna, where, with the support of the Austrian president, Engelbert Dollfuss, he obtained a position in the philosophy department of the University of Vienna and established a brand was “God-intoxicated” from his earliest youth. He earned high academic honors, even loved, Dollfuss as a Catholic statesman who might inspire all Central Europe to block and eventually defeat Nazism. History has given Dollfuss more mixed reviews. He was undoubtedly an enemy of Nazism and anti-Semitism. He had an obstacle to Hitler—to the point that Austrian Nazis attempted a coup, took him hostage, shot him, and allowed him to bleed to death. But he had earlier suppressed an uprising by Social Democrats with great bloodshed, introduced a new post-democratic constitution, and ruled autocratically thereafter. Hildebrand’s main reason for supporting him was the practical judgment that, in the circumstances of Central Europe in the 1930s, he offered the best hope of resisting Hitler. That was almost certainly true. It was also sufficient reason. What is also true, however, is that Dollfuss’s advocacy of the corporate state as a replacement for democratic parliamentarianism was attractive to Hildebrand, as it was to other contemporary European Catholic intellectuals who had long distrusted Anglo-American liberalism. Hildebrand reports with sympathy the distress of some leading

demos who had swallowed the atmosphere Hitler had many potential evils, they reflect the injustices done doubts and joined the Dollfuss government, and eventually he seized Austria. Their perpetrators, the victims brought from the same practical desire amid widespread Austrian rejoicing, it upon themselves, even if by proxy, resist Hitler as his own. But his supporters, the Austrian bishops supported etc., etc. We need Hildebrand's tale for Dollfuss went deeper—endorsing the Anschluss, advising Catholics to do so, patient determination to destroy post-democratic corporate state that, vote for it in a referendum. The Vatican justifications logically and to point when analyzed, looks like a device promptly rebuked them in unusually clear language where they will lead if not maintaining the control of existing political language. Relations between the checked now.

Church and the Nazi authorities in Hildebrand's articles from this time, following the assassination of Dollfuss, Austria then descended into outright conflict. By then, however, many Catholics very respect. They are always serious, continued to resist but was continually lost to Nazism. By then, scrupulous, and on the side of drawn further into Hitler's orbit. Hildebrand, Hildebrand had had to flee for good against evil. Addressing spiritual brand was perhaps the most important for the second time, initially on social topics, they are always acute intellectual influence fighting this drift Budapest, then to France, and finally and powerful. They disturb and in Vienna at the time. The fight in the United States.

the Christian conscience. Addressing strange allies. Moritz Schlick, the Hitler's dominance of Central Europe political questions, however, they are founder of logical positivism, was in part the result of a formidable and more powerful in what they philosophically at odds with Hildebrand and well-financed campaign of political abuse than in what they propose. A brand, who considered his ideas "false warfare. Spies, endless mendacious mild and decent Catholic authoritarian and dangerous." Schlick probably had propaganda, the cultivation of treasonism may be better than any other kind, similar reservations about Hildebrand, able Germans abroad, manufactured even a refuge against worse evils, but it but he warmly welcomed the German border incidents, political murders, cannot really be a political ideal, and it theologian into the department of military threats—these and other tech is unlikely to generate the kind of energy philosophy of which he was head, in pictures help to explain the relentless and commitment needed to defeat a because he was an old-fashioned general advance of Nazism from the failed Beer revolutionary force such as Bolshevism tleman rather than a ruthless ideologue. Hall coup in Munich in 1923 to overthrow Nazism.

in part because the two men were unfit for Barbarossa. But they don't explain the Nor does that seem to be where ed by a detestation of anti-Semitism innumerable cases of Catholics and others. Hildebrand ended up. The one article and Hitler. (Schlick was later killed by Christians, encountered by Hildebrand, written during his American exile a student for mysterious reasons—who were spiritually tempted and ever selected here comes from 1941 and has which anti-Semitism may have played a converted to Nazism in today civil a political sharpness and positive force a part, since some considered Schlick's society without being subject to anything in some of his Vienna writings. ideas "Jewish," though he himself such pressures.

Its first sentence points out the incompatibility of anti-Semitism not only with was not.) All the same, it was Hildebrand's powerful revolutionary compatibility of anti-Semitism not only with brand, with his political and aristocratic and even spiritual force—a perverted Christian doctrine but also with "the connections, as well as a monthly religion—that appealed to those whose democratic ideal." It is almost if intellectual journal, who exercised the apparent religious and political conviction. Hildebrand, on landing in America, took greater influence in the Catholic Vienna nations were weak and ill thought out, lungful of fresh air and shook off some of the day.

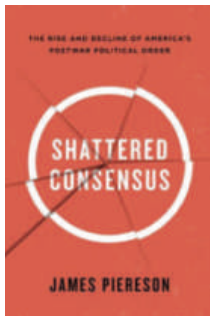
When there was no Hildebrand around of his European political pessimism.

But it was a losing fight within point out the incompatibility of Christianity that would not have been unusual for Austria and the Church. Of the many Anti-Christ, they appeased Nazism exiles at that time. Composer Kurt Weill incidents in which Hildebrand had to make excuses for its "excesses," found changed his political outlook on becoming counter Catholic appeasement (and similarities between it and Christianity an American (and, in my opinion, worse) of Nazism, the most shocking thing, blamed anti-Semitism on them wrote better music too). America not occurred when he began an address Jews, and were halfway to being Nazified gave them hope; meeting the seminarians with a "beautiful story" when it became dangerous to oppose American people also cheered them up. how an abbess had recently introduced them. Because they didn't resist when it Alas, it is questionable whether political a Jewish convert to her nuns: "Too easy, they had lost the will to deal exiles would feel the same effect tomorrow we have the great privilege when it became a matter of life and death; certainly any fellow intellectual-accepting someone into our convent That is not a purely historical lessonals they met would discourage such who is a sister of our Lord not only Christians are now being persecuted naïve enthusiasm. And that kind of spirit but in blood." There were but bound the world with little or no protest. Powerful self-confidence is necessary if protests and applause at these words, from the governments of post-Christian we are to summon up the courage to and during the speech a large number of countries. Jews are facing discrimination defend our decencies and resist today's seminarians walked out. This was close to street brutality, and murder evils. If we don't want to end up having to blasphemy, of course, but it was modern Europe. Many of the formulae be brave before firing squads and terrorist manifestation of quite extraordinary employed to justify ignoring or downing gangs, then we should begin by ignorance: What race did the seminarians playing these evils would be familiar being have at faculty meetings and and imagine Christ was? In such Hildebrand—we should not exaggerate dinner parties.

NR

Crisis of the Old Order

VINCENT J. CANNATO



Shattered Consensus: The Rise and Decline of America's Postwar Political Order, by James Piereson (Encounter, 416 pp., \$27.99)

THE recent Supreme Court decision on gay marriage welfare system would be maintained to deeply disappointed conservatives and underscored how rapidly the cultural landscape has been changing. What was considered a fringe movement just 30 years ago has now found wide acceptance in both opinion polling and the law. A couple of other Supreme Court decisions, upholding Obamacare and the “disparate-impact” policy in racial-discrimination cases, and further added to a sense of gloom the right.

When Barack Obama was elected in 2008, many liberals saw it as the opening of new era of liberalism—a “New Deal.” The economic crisis would allow President Obama a chance to eliminate or even substantially reduce the public debt. It had been stymied by the Cold War and the Republican resurgence of the 1980s and 1990s. Some especially smug writers even proclaimed the death of conservatism.

It hasn’t quite worked out that way. President Obama has achieved some policy successes, such as Obamacare and Dodd-Frank, but Republicans have capitalized on a weak economic recovery and overall unhappiness with the Obama administration to take control of both chambers of Congress, elect 31

the nation’s governors, and capture a majority of state legislatures. The nation remains bitterly divided along ideological lines.

In *Shattered Consensus*, James Piereson, the president of the William E. Simon Foundation and a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, argues that one “consequence of Obama’s tenure has been to fray the postwar consensus beyond the possibility of repair”: “There is no longer enough agreement in the American polity to address any of the nation’s systemic problems before they escalate to the point of crisis.”

The consensus Piereson refers to is the post-New Deal, post-World War II agreement between Republicans and Democrats that focused on “growth, not redistribution or central planning. The New Deal would not be dismantled; a modest social welfare system would be maintained to handle those left out of the post-war expansion. In foreign affairs, the consensus was staunchly anti-Communist and supported a policy of containment against the Soviets. This was the era of Big Government, Big Business, and Big Labor.

Most historians believe that this postwar consensus broke apart in the 1960s, and led to the election of Ronald Reagan. Though Piereson acknowledges the political success of Republicans since the 1980s, he correctly notes that “Republicans never managed to reverse the flow of political power to Washington and failed to allow President Obama a chance to eliminate or even substantially reduce the public debt. At some point, such public debt will push through a liberal agenda that many of the New Deal or Great Society social programs.” Republicans may have slowed down the expansion of federal power, but they were unable to change the political trajectory that the New Deal had put in place.

Shattered Consensus is largely a collection of previously published essays that examine issues as diverse as higher education, the state of modern liberalism and conservatism, Keynesianism, and the “inequality crisis.” There is also a section on the legacy of John F. Kennedy, with Piereson’s excellent book *Camelot and the Cultural Revolution: How the*

Assassination of John F. Kennedy (2007): Piereson argues that there has been a willful misremembering of the facts of Kennedy’s assassination (blaming Piereson, the president of the William E. Simon Foundation and a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, argues that one “consequence of Obama’s tenure has been to fray the postwar consensus beyond the possibility of repair”: “There is no longer enough agreement in the American polity to address any of the nation’s systemic problems before they escalate to the point of crisis.”

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Mr. Cannato teaches history at the University of Massachusetts Boston.

Is such optimism warranted? Each of the three previous realignments he mentions was built on a new political coalition that made economic and political change possible. The Jeffersonian-Jacksonian regime that forced the demise of the Federalist party was based on the expansion of the nation westward and the rise of universal white-male suffrage that sustained Democratic electoral dominance. Similarly, the post-1865 Republican tide emerged not just out of the Union victory in the Civil War, but also from the Second Industrial Revolution's fostering of a northern and Midwestern middle class. And the New Deal order was not just a reaction to the Great Depression: It also marked the rise of a new urban polity—an ethnic working class that provided reliable votes for Democrats for a few decades.

Unfortunately, there is little political space today upon which a **new Republican coalition** can be built.

Although Piereson does not classify the Reagan Revolution as a true political “revolution,” it too came about as a result of a new great coalition, this time between a growing Sunbelt and a resurgent, politically engaged Evangelical Protestantism.

Unfortunately, there is little political space today upon which a new Republican coalition can be built. Although the idea of an “emerging Democratic majority” may be overstated, it is undoubtedly true that the groups that are growing in America—Hispanics, Asians, single women, upscale professionals—all vote overwhelmingly Democratic. Republican voters trend older and whiter. In addition, as the federal government has expanded, more people have come to rely on some kind of government assistance. In 2010, Gallup found that 36 percent of Americans, including a majority of Democrats, viewed socialism positively. Conservatives still outnumber liberals, but the percentage of the latter continues to climb.

Perhaps an economic crisis would shake the average American voter, but I'm not sure. Look at Illinois, California, and New York—blue states with

serious fiscal challenges. If anything, these states have become more liberal in the last decade or two (although Illinois was able to narrowly elect a reform Republican governor last year). In Europe, an ongoing economic meltdown led to the election of the far-left Syriza party in Greece and may do so again later this month. A severe economic crisis might lead to a Republican revival focused on pro-growth policies, but it is just as plausible that such a crisis could strengthen the Left—which would argue that the crisis just proves the inherent instability and injustice of capitalism.

A more probable scenario is that America continues to muddle along for years to come, as a deeply divided nation that cannot agree on core political and economic beliefs: Neither party would be able to win enough

support to make significant changes, and the American public would become accustomed to weak economic growth—much as average Europeans have. How long can the nation sustain such rising levels of public debt? Certainly not forever, but for longer than most analysts have been predicting since the rising deficits of the 1980s.

Finally, it may very well be that we live in an age in which it is difficult to create any kind of lasting political consensus. The consensus of 1945 to 1970 was built during an era of mass media and a broadly shared culture. Today, the American public is deeply segmented into many subcultures. A widely “diverse” nation might end up being one that is incredibly difficult to govern.

All Americans should be deeply concerned about an economy that is unable to grow much faster than 2 percent, and James Piereson's book is a reminder of how destabilizing this new economic reality might become. Republicans would be wise not to wait for the next economic crisis before developing a governing agenda to deal with it.

NR

Multilateral Dreaming

JOHN R. BOLTON



The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire, by Susan Pedersen
(Oxford, 592 pp., \$34.95)

THE League of Nations does not today evoke rapt attention from most Americans, or even much interest. The United States never joined the League, after the Senate rejected the Treaty of Versailles in 1920, and thereafter few believed we had much at stake in its work. Powerful global political forces—international Communism, Fascism in Europe, and Japanese aggression in Asia—combined with the 1929 crash and ensuing Great Depression, relegated the League to the periphery of U.S. attention.

For a dedicated cadre of Wilsonian idealists, however, dreams of a new multilateral order never ended. They believed, contrary to all available evidence, that U.S. League membership could have prevented World War II by taming the twin scourges of isolationism and nationalism. Franklin Roosevelt, Wilson's ideological descendant, made creating a better League a principal wartime goal, resulting in 1945 in the United Nations.

Contrary to the dream, however, the U.N.'s chief political decision-making bodies (the Security Council and the

Mr. Bolton is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and a former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. He is the author of Surrender Is Not an Option: Defending America at the United Nations and Abroad.

General Assembly) and many lesser tory but what she sees as a sketch offence unthinkable, for U.S. conservatives (e.g., the Human Rights Council) the future. tives at least, in their domestic affairs. have accomplished precious little, even Pursuing this objective, she shows Of course, some “international civil ser- after Cold War gridlock disappeared. how mindsets at the League persisted vants” (then and now) reported directly Some U.N. specialized agencies do into the U.N. era, and persist to thiso their national governments, but the important work, but typically by keep- day for those seeking to constrain idea of an “international” bureaucracy ing themselves removed from con- nation-states in general, and the U.S. inis nonetheless breathtaking. The League tentious international political issues. particular. Pedersen’s scholarship is Secretariat had a magnetic attraction, Facing such history, enthusiasts for a thorough, but such obscure topics as bringing in as job applicants precisely League- or U.N.-centric world might Australia’s governance of formerly the people who disliked national sover- have developed greater humility. Rhe -German New Guinea are not her cen-eignty and believed themselves better torically at least, they have. “World tral interest. Her argument is that thequalified than national leaders—and government” is now rarely used even byLeague actually did, overall, yield sig- allowed them to perpetuate themselves those who aspire to it. And the unmis-nificant results, albeit not necessarily almost without limit. Most remark- takably Wilsonian Barack Obama is so the ones its founders intended. She ably, even the United States has uninterested in foreign policy that even focuses on the League’s power of allowed this charade to continue right he rarely does more than throw the U.N.“internationalization,” which she de - up until today. occasional verbal bouquets. fines as “the process by which certain Closely related to an “independent”

Nonetheless, the newer phrase “glob- political issues and functions are dis- Secretariat were the members of the al governance” persists, in universities, placed from the national . . . and intoLeague’s Permanent Mandates Com - in earnest journals of “conflict resolu- the international realm.” It is precisely mission (PMC), the Covenant’s pre- tion,” and among worshipers devoted to this effort to relocate decision-making scribed authority to review and oversee those iconic, newly renovated buildings authority away from national capitals the performance of the mandatory pow- at Man hattan’s Turtle Bay. Important that characterizes the contemporary ers. Commissioners were, like the international negotiations still find their “global governance” crowd. Secretariat officials, to be “indep- way to Geneva or Vienna, the two other Pedersen points to several aspects of dent”—selected on personal merit rather principal U.N. headquarters cities. For the League’s work on the mandates than to represent their governments. any Geneva visitor, the U.N.’s presence system, three of which are particularly Although, as with the Secretariat, PMC at the Palais des Nations, built for thenoteworthy for us today. The first is theindependence was often honored in the League, is a constant reminder of whatcharacter of the League’s bureaucracy, breach, the idea that “experts” were bet- might have been, or yet may be. or “Secretariat.” Pedersen says unhesi - ter suited than national representatives

And academicians seem to be lead- tatingly that “nothing the League pro- to perform governance functions has ing the effort to resurrect the case forduced was more quietly revolutionary also survived at the U.N. more-robust international organiza- than the international Secretariat.” And Almost uniformly, these experts tions. Susan Pedersen, in her study ofwith good reason: National govern- come from the international Left, mak- the League of Nations mandates system, ments created this novel mechanism ing them charter members of the High- analyzes how the League performed its and then gave it a measure of indepen-Minded, those who know better than historically unique re sponsibility of overseeing the governance of territo- ries that had been stripped by Ver- sailles from the defeated Ottoman and German empires and allocated among World War I’s victorious powers. What might have been a straightforward division of the spoils of victory at Versailles brought forth instead, consistent with Wilson’s renunciation of U.S. territorial ambitions, the man- dates concept under Article 22 of the League Covenant.

Pedersen clearly hopes to help spark a renewed appreciation of the League and, inferentially, the U.N. and other multilateral efforts: “In the history of the mandates system we thus recover the role of the League of Nations as an agent of geopolitical transformation.” Given the League’s legendary ineffec- tiveness, this may seem an overreach, but Pedersen is writing not mere his-

TO THE ESTRANGED

Sometimes a person may be tempted to accept
neglect from those who seem to qualify as great,
assuming ignorance and cold to be his fate;
resigned to anonymity, dejected, swept
away by bitter bankruptcy, and those adept
at arrogance; to be inclined to overrate
those privileged successors of the fourth estate,
believing roses sprout where the Elite have stepped.
Bohemian! The toe of the Establishment
is pink adobe rooted in a pool of spittle,
eroding slowly by an unobstructed drip
from spread lips, having hardened, curled without relent.
This hulk, to hold its structure, must stand noncommittal,
and may not move to save itself—head, hand, nor hip.

—JENNIFER REESER



Text

The Human Factor

ROBERT ZUBRIN

The End of Doom: Environmental Renewal in the 21st Century, by Ronald Bailey (Thomas Dunne, 368 pp., \$27.99)

mere governments (especially that of Seeking to reacquire its lost influence, the United States) what is best for that recognizing that it could not simply world. This is where the Platonicask for the return of its former colonies, “Guardians” of Pedersen’s book titleBerlin argued instead that the mandate spring. They were formerly intended holders were not meeting their obliga- just for mandate territories, but todaytions and that further “internationalizing” they aspire to spread their authorityof the mandates’ governance through the internationally without limit. It is ndLeague was required.

accident that, following decades of Rarely has cynicism been more tri- The End of Doom: Environmental Renewal in the U.N. activity, an informal groupumphant. The Nazi success, like many 21st Century, by Ronald Bailey (Thomas known as “the Elders” has emerged,other examples Pedersen describes, Dunne, 368 pp., \$27.99) routinely blessing us with the benefiddemonstrates powerfully that the multi- of their worldly wisdom, whether anylateral ethos of the League (and its suc one asks for it or not. The Elders cassor) has often been nothing more clude such luminaries as Kofi Annanthan a smokescreen. And ironically, but R ON BAILEY is a libertarian and an environmentalist. This may seem like a contradiction, and it is, with consequences that which gives you some idea of whawere the most creative at bending thinflict serious damage on his latest book. their supporters mean by the concept dLeague’s mandate rhetoric to their ownThis is a disappointment, because Bailey “independent experts.” ends, so too in the U.N., the Sovihas written many first-rate works.

Second, Pedersen describes how theUnion was the most artful in exploiting And Bailey’s new bookThe End of widespread publicity generated by thethe global organization for its ownDoom, is not all bad. In fact, parts of it discussion of mandate issues in Genevænds. This is surely a cautionary lessonre excellent. For example, Bailey does a created its own powerful dynamic.for our times. great job in gathering hysterical doomsday Simply requiring the mandatory pow- The U.N.’s founders effectively re-predictions that Malthusians have made ers “tosay they were governing [the created the mandates in the form ofcontinuously, with absolute confidence, mandates] differently” (em phasis in“trusteeships,” allocated to World Warsince Malthus, only to be repeatedly re - original), she argues, meant that theI’s victorious powers, often the samefuted by reality. He also has fine sections League was accomplishing something. as those who held League mandatesdebunking technophobic opposi tion to a Focusing on the process by which thePedersen acknowledges differences in litany of vital innovations; the chapter PMC considered petitions from localthe U.N. version—several, such asdefending genetically modified crops populations in the mandatory territo-replacing “independent experts” on theis outstanding. His refutation of the ries, from non-governmental organi- PMC with national seats on the Trustee‘pre cautionary principle,” a.k.a. the zations, and from other governmentsship Council, not to her liking—but the‘vorsorgeprinzip, a demented piece of became a League cottage industry.family resemblance is unmistakable. philosophizing that would effectively pre- And, while the petitions may notWhile the U.N.’s trusteeship work isclude any exercise of creativity to advance often have directly achieved theirnow formally ended, there being nothe human condition, is delightful, and objectives, Pedersen concludes that more trusteeships and none likely imalone worth the price of the book. “the significance of petitioning” lieshe future, the game is not yet over. InNevertheless, at its core the book has a “not in the realm of law but of polise after case, U.N. efforts to admiproblem. That is, while refuting the doom- tics—and of global politics at that,’ister failed regions of the world, oftensayers in numerous particulars, Bailey She points to issues being made “viside scribed as “peacekeeping,” are imctually embraces—if only partially and ble to informed publics around thefact something much more like manloosely—the fundamental antihuman world”—a more neutral description ofdates or trusteeships. assumption underlying their worldview. the High-Minded—as the best vehicle Pedersen’s academic cheerleading This is evident in the book’s two most for accomplishing the League’s broad- for the League provides important per-critical chapters, dealing with the pur- per objectives. spective on the continuing, indeedported threats of the “population explo-

Finally, Pedersen points to a phenom-unrelenting, campaign to replace na sion” and global warming. enon certainly unintended by thetional sovereignty with multilateral On the “population explosion,” Bailey Wilsonians: Surface devotion to inter-institutions. This is hardly a recentstarts out well enough, quoting, and national ideals such as the mandatesphenomenon, and it is supported by thereby mocking, the wildly incorrect often masks the unalloyed pursuit ofddetermined cadre of global warriors,predictions of imminent global starva- national interests. She concedes that theincluding some in the upper reaches ofon issued by Paul Ehrlich and other League member most loyal to the Covthe Obama administration and theMalthusians in the late 1960s. He then nant’s Article 22 was Nazi Ger manyDemocratic party. If Barack Obama reports how the transfer of agricultural during its brief 1930s interlude as has disappointed his most multilater-know-how to the developing world ac - League member. Its overseas posses-alist supporters, make no mistake:complished a “Green Revolution” of in - sions stripped away and placed undeThey have not given up. It may be a mandates by Versailles, Ger many wasong way from the New Guinea marMr. Zubrin is the president of Pioneer Energy, a the League member most interested indate, but the road is still filled wisenior fellow with the Center for Security Policy, and undermining the mandatory powers. High-Minded pilgrims. NR the author of Energy Victory.

creased crop yields. But then, looking tincreased per capita product is so strongincrease the cost of fossil fuels, are not. the future, for page after page, he comthat any scientist examining these dataBut the real issue with global warming is pares the food-production projections would immediately suspect causality. not whether it has occurred. It clearly of various authorities to the population- In fact, the causal relationship is nohas, as any read of Dickens's accounts increase projections of other authorities hard to find. It is not merely that everyof snowy winters in London can readily in an attempt to answer the question "Canmouh comes with a pair of hands: If thatcertain. The real issue is whether global we feed the world in 2050?"

Oh dear, canwe feed them all? Ladies be constant regardless of population. But halting requires global redirection of hu - and Gentlemen of the World Governmentevery mouth and pair of hands also comman endeavors away from those that free Central Committee, do we havplan to with a brain, and so the more people thepeople would otherwise choose. deal with this matter? Canw slow their are, the faster the rate of technological So let us consider the matter. Over the multiplication? Canour production- progress, which multiplies product per past half century, as a result of human de partment quota be raised enough toapita, and whose effects are cumulative.activity unconstrained by effective anti- keep up withtheir numbers? Ehrlich says Furthermore, a greater population means carbon policies, the followingeffects no. Bailey says yes. Who is right? a larger division of labor, which cheapenhave occurred:

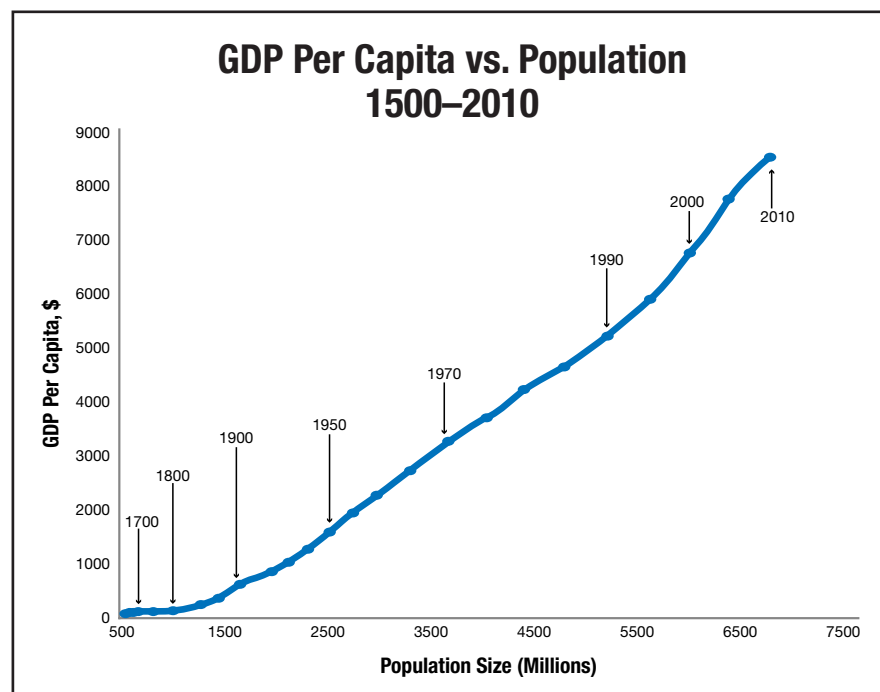
Neither: This entire approach to theproduction; a larger base to support the de -One: Average global temperatures matter is misguided. The human predica-velopment of necessary infrastructure; have increased by 0.2 percent (from ment is not one wherein there is a produand a larger market, which incentivizes in 287 K to 288 K).

tion department in one place, engaged in vestment in new technology. Two: The average global rate of plant race to provide ough food to multiply- So the more of us there are, the moregrowth has increased by 15 percent. ing billions of useless eaters somewhere there will be to go around. Therefore the Three: Global GDP per capita has else. The human race is not on the dolla, which Bailey endorses, that slowingincreased by 400 percent.

The human race feeds itself, and is doingpopulation growth should be a societal Are these developments good or bad? so better and better all the time, as igal has no rational economic basis.Item One is a modest positive, since- CO forces increase.

The accompanying chart is based onceptance of antihumanist prejudice. coldest parts of the world, as only they data that do not appear in Bailey's book In his chapter on global warming,lack extensive greening already from but that should have appeared there, beBailey takes a similarly flawed approach.water vapor. Item Two, a direct result of cause they show how completely false theHe devotes a lot of pages to proving theCO₂ enrichment of the atmosphere, has Malthusian argument is.

As the world's populam has gone to "market driven" solutions to "make and agriculture, providing the sustenance up, the total amount of product available clean energy cheaper than fossil fuels."for one out of every seven animals and per capita in inflation-adjusted 2010 Some of his recommendations for doingplants that live on Earth. And Item Three dollars has goneup—exactly the oppo- this, such as clearing roadblocks to nucleaais, in secular terms, the greatest story ever site of what Malthus, and all subsequentpower and fracking (because it can helpold, reporting in a single bare statistic the Malthusians, predicted. Indeed, the cor- replace coal), are fine. Others, such as califting of the bulk of humanity out of relation of increased population with bon taxes or other policies designed to poverty within a single lifetime.



Why should we want to reverse this? We have made our world slightly less frigid, significantly more fertile, and vastly more prosperous. Should our freedom therefore be curtailed?

There is a Chinese saying: "Where there is a will to convict, evidence is never lacking." As defense counsel for humanity, Bailey advises us to confess, but plead for a lighter sentence.

We need a better lawyer—one who understands that the danger we face comes not from there being too many people, but from people who say that there are too many people; and that humanity today is being threatened not by people who are using too many resources, but by people who say that other people are using too many resources.

We need a better lawyer, because the case under trial is not about whether it is getting warmer or colder, but about whether humanity should be free. NR

Film

Original Gangstas

ROSS DOUTHAT

STRAIGHT OUTTA COMPTON, a group biopic about the birth of gangsta rap, is excellent evidence that “group” and “biopic” are potentially mutually exclusive terms. The movie wants to tell the story of the young men who founded the rap group N.W.A., particularly O’Shea Jackson, Andre Romelle Young, and Eric Lynn Wright—or, as America knows them, Ice Cube (played by O’Shea Jackson Jr., the original Cube’s son), Dr. Dre (Corey Hawkins), and Eazy-E (Jason Mitchell)—during their early, contro-



Neil Brown Jr., Aldis Hodge, Corey Hawkins, Jason Mitchell, and O’Shea Jackson Jr. in *Straight Outta Compton*

versial years of fame and fortune. But are menaced by bullying cops, it lets the menace of Suge Knight (R. Marcos Taylor), who gradually takes over from even at two and a half hours, the charismatic Jackson deliver his charismatic father’s harangues without rebuttal, N.W.A.’s original manager, Jerry Heller arcs seem truncated, and none of them and it builds to the Rodney King beating (Paul Giamatti), replacing hustle and three leads ever fully stays in focus. and the police acquittal that followed. semi-honest graft with a mobster’s ap-

Which is not to say that *Compton* fails. It also keeps certain realities mostly out of music management. to entertain. The larger story is still far off sight: The crack wars get less play. That takeover, like so many events in nating even if the men themselves aren’t than the police brutality, and the movie the movie, lacks some necessary detail; so fully enfolded. The gangsta-rap moment, neglects to reveal that Dre—portrayed does the larger falling out, over money prior to the genre’s domestication, was a mostly as a charming ladies’ man—didn’t and other matters (but mostly money, rare case in which a pop-culture contro-just rap about violence against women but seemingly), that divides N.W.A. against very intersected with real politics in a actually beat several girlfriends during itself and sets Dre and Cube on the path way that actually deserved the hype. And the period portrayed. (The controversy to their enduring solo careers. (Eazy-E’s though the movie’s portrait of the contro-over that lacuna in *Compton* prompted path to an early grave, meanwhile, is tele- very is inevitably one-sided, there’s the real Dre to issue a non-specific apology graphed with the Significant Coughing enough material up on screen to let theory to “the women I’ve hurt.”) beloved by biopics in a hurry.) other side seep through as well. But even with its spin and framing, But it’s a testament to the inherent inter-

The side the movie explicitly takes is the movie’s story still gives you enough of the material, and to the urgency that that of its heroes, who insisted that their seaminess to make it clear where gangsta the actors lend their underwritten parts, was a music of protest politics and gritty rap’s many critics were coming from. that I left the theater wanting that detail, social criticism, an exercise in truth. Women aren’t beaten on screen, but they and wishing that *Compton* had delved a telling—about ghetto life, the drug trade, are treated as disposable sex objects for little more deeply into the machinations police brutality, the hopeless fury of most of the movie’s running time, before of Suge and his minions, or into Ice Cube’s young black men—that the rest of a couple of heroic girlfriends/wives show relationship to the Nation of Islam—or, America needed to hear. The fact that up late, with little introduction, as our on a strictly human level, that it had a the lyrics were profane, misogynist, and heroes make the transition to respectabil- found a richer way to illuminate the grad- obsessed with the power of murderousity. We’re led to believe that the “F*** the taming of its angry young men by age force didn’t make them accessories to Police” sentiment had some justification and fortune and respectability. misogyny or murder; no, they were just behind it, but we also notice that out of *Compton* is not a successful movie, but holding up a mirror to their life in *Compton* the bandmates, only Eazy-E is actually a it’s a movie that’s successful in interesting ton, and it wasn’t their fault if scolded gangster, and a small-time one at that, the casual, non-rap-fan viewer in its story. didn’t appreciate what it showed. while the others are playing media-ready. It doesn’t make the most of its material,

To buttress this perspective *Compton* parts. And then we can also see the role but it’s a reminder, decades later, of why offers a number of scenes—well tailored that playacting plausibly played in fur- the real events and people fascinated and for the “Black Lives Matter” era—in the ring, not just depicting, a cycle of vio- infuriated so many Americans, and why which one or more of its budding rappers—thanks especially to the looming those reactions were deserved. **NR**

Diaspora



RICHARD BROOKHISER

CHINESE first came in large numbers to this country after the Gold Rush. They became numerous on the West Coast that they figured in Democratic literature. One post-15th Amendment cartoon showed a frock-coated Republican supporting Cuffy, a soon-to-be enfranchised black man, on his shoulders. But on Cuffy's shoulders stood a Chinaman, in queue and silk robe, calling the man, in queue and silk robe, "belly good man! He say in) that it survived on its belly Chinaman good as Medicin!" On the Chinaman's shoulders stood an American Indian, demanding liquor. Free slaves and every lesser breed will have said. Ah, democracy; ah, Democrats. is. But in my hamlet, three miles

Chinese of the Charlie Chan/chop-era tended to live in Chinatowns. cities, many tricked out with imperial gateways for the tourists. were Cantonese restaurants and shops selling cheap souvenirs—joss sticks, copper coins with square holes in centers, Bank of Hell notes in dollar denominations for burning at funerals. On Chinese New Year there be a dragon dance. But even before gates of immigration were opened in Sixties, there was, in every town size and many of no size, a Chinese restaurant. They were strung across the country as if by prearrangement—everywhere, and no more.

The Chinese diaspora has covered the world. The only story on Canadian I ever did took me across the west of the then-new Reform party. Their is as empty as ours, vast perspectives and magpies (I remember a sign outside the town of Bigger: York Is Big / But This Is Bigger every town, however small, had its

store for those long winter nights—Canadian-Chinese restaurant. Revolution sometimes drives these communities under ground or away. Chinese work do well, and keep to themselves—ceptable sins. Airports in Indonesia to (and may still) warn the traveler bringing in Chinese literature, as well guns and explosives (all three equally deadly). The Castro brothers sowed Upper West Side with Cuban/Chinese restaurants, *comidas chinas y criollas*—not, I was disappointed to discover, a zany fusion of cuisines, but a menu plus a Chinese menu (both When we bought our house in the try, the Chinese restaurant was in the centuries of tradition, retooled over the state road. That hamlet had decades for New World taste buds? since any train had stopped there. Changing tastes—brown rice, in addition a post office, a fire house, a couple of



white rice, and Mandarin, Szechuan, Hbuan dishes. The second time, I had the menu from the first time. I phoned in the order, and drove into the dusk, past the and former farms, the maple-syrup place and the dude ranch, the trout stream the man who sells bulk lubricants. Down town, I filled the last of the four slots in the parking lot alongside the Chinese place. There are bare-bones tables and a calendar for art, but most of the business is placemats explaining the animal sign. When I came my order was ready. The woman who came in after me knew the place. I phoned in the order, and drove into the dusk, past the and former farms, the maple-syrup place and the dude ranch, the trout stream the man who sells bulk lubricants. Down town, I filled the last of the four slots in the parking lot alongside the Chinese place. There are bare-bones tables and a calendar for art, but most of the business is placemats explaining the animal sign. When I came my order was ready. The woman who came in after me knew the place. Michele, I think. She will go, or is going, to some top college. That is the purpose of the Chinese restaurant. It is a way station, a multi generational place. But when this one closes, having fulfilled its function, another will open here, or nearby.

NR



Text

Millenarian Millennials

I'm a Millennial by the skin of my teeth. That is, an Elder Millennial, born in 1984, a year heavy with portent that lay at the fuzzy edge of "the mid 1980s," which by vague consensus demarcates the beginning of the generation.

Elder Millennials are to be distinguished from Young Millennials by a number of behaviors and characteristics. We are so-called digital natives, but we were there when the grade-school librarians burned the card catalogues; we remember computers before the Internet, and the Internet before Google; and we spent our early, sweaty-palmed adolescence as archaeologists of our uncles' buried *Playboys*. When the Twin Towers fell, I watched the black plume from a hill near my high school in New Jersey, where I was president of the senior class. So I cringed when Ian Tuttle—whose byline serially graces the cover of this periodical—told a few of us over drinks that the teachers in his school had let the fifth-graders watch the news that day, but not his cohort in grade four.

Being the graybeards of youth, Elder Millennials have been able to avoid—and mock—some of Young Millennials' worst excesses. We've enjoyed the occasional unphotographed meal. We've solicited dates in three dimensions. Some of us have never tried yoga. And, as the foregoing suggests, we have one toe in the irony-festooned misanthropy of Gen X, which means we cast a jaundiced and disapproving eye on the very generation we foreran.

Cultural criticism in the social-media age has taken the form, mainly, of white people making fun of other white people for how white they are, and the subset of Millennial white people is wrapped up in the same onanistic masochism (how we forget that self-hatred is solipsistic). So I do recognize the element of unearned self-importance involved in an Elder Millennial's despairing over *The Kids Today*. As Jeff Tweedy of the indie band Wilco sang, "Every generation thinks it's the end of the world."

It's true that politics in the age of the Millennial have been decidedly millenarian, and I don't just mean the elaborate Dada prank that is Donald Trump's candidacy. Twitter is many things, and one of them is a kind of rectal thermometer of the Millennial mood (especially we Elder Millennials, who have not yet abandoned it for the hipper confines of Snapchat, Kik, and other apps that operate at frequencies we no longer hear).

And let me tell you, the mood ain't good. Half the kids are uptight, chanting the increasingly baroque pieties of social justice and prosecuting their peers' speech crimes with Corsican rigor. The other half seems content to

enjoy the back nine of the West with a cold one and a wry smirk. As each new absurdity or obscenity comes tumbling down their feeds, they respond with the only-half-kidding hashtag #nothingmatters, and as the protean presidential race gets ever more grotesque, they propagate popular memes supporting Cthulhu or S.M.O.D. (Sweet Meteor of Death) in 2016.

So what if this *is* it? What if we Millennials really are foreordained to preside over the end of the world, or at least the civilized portion of it?

Consider that these things happened in the same calendar week:

The three major networks marked *one month* without mention of the Center for Medical Progress's rolling sting of Planned Parenthood's harvest of human corpses, even as MSNBC ran a chyron reading "Breaking News: Trump Has Woman Pull Hair to Prove It's Real."

We learned of several suicides stemming from publication of personal information hacked from the adulterous dating service Ashley Madison, where we also learned that 20 million men (at least 15,000 of them using government e-mail addresses) were vying for the affection of 1,492 actual women.

A deranged African-American social-justice warrior committed the first but, we must countenance, not the last "selfie" mass murder—broadcasting himself executing two former colleagues on a Virginia television-news crew, nominally for past professional slights and alleged "racism" that included one of the victims' referring to the killer as a "reporter out in the field."

Meanwhile, what has been worrying our Young Millennial elites? Take, for just one example, the undergrads at Columbia, who have been pushing for faculty to attach "trigger warnings" to the texts in the college's widely respected core curriculum—such as a warning that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* includes rapey bits. Columbia has responded by swapping out the Latin poet's catalogue of Western civilization's founding myths for a novel by Toni Morrison. This at a time when, as Heather Mac Donald reported recently in *Commentary*, the Columbia administration is still trying to recover from the devastation unleashed by "Mattress Girl" (who protested Columbia's handling of her rape accusation against a fellow student by carrying a mattress around campus) and is compelling all students, on pain of expulsion, to participate in a "Sexual Respect and Community Citizenship Initiative," in which they will be asked to, among other things, make "works of art" highlighting rape culture and "reflect" in a "monitored discussion" on the connection between "sexual assault and masculinity."

So yes, Mr. Tweedy, every generation thinks it's the end of the world. The part you left out is—sooner or later one of them is gonna be right.

NR

Mr. Foster is a political consultant and a former news editor of NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE.

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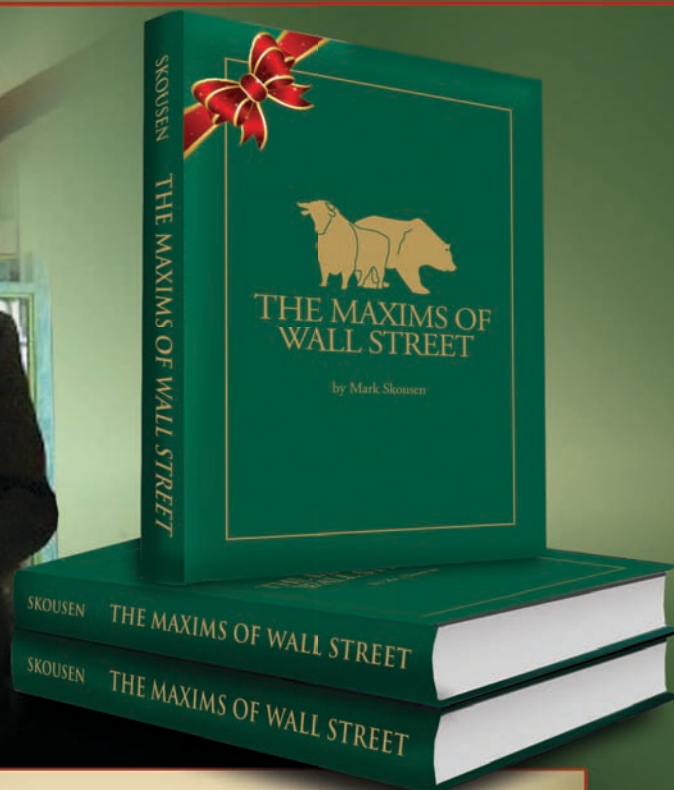
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